

# EBONY



Part X  
The Making of Black America  
**THE BLACK WORKER**

By Lerone Bennett Jr.

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THE DIFFERENCE  
BETWEEN SEX AND LOVE**

By Alvin F. Poussaint, M. D.

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JULY 1972 75c



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VOL. XXVII No. 9

# EBONY®

JULY, 1972

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## COVER:

Redd Foxx and Demond Wilson star in the *Sonford* and *San* television series which has barged into the top-rated ranks. Foxx's role as an aging junk dealer is a tremendous departure from his sophisticated, sexy comedy routines that have sold millions of recordings over the years. Wilson is a sensitive young actor whose prior work was mostly in brooding dramas and suspense films. His role as Foxx's son has proved to be his first real ticket to stardom. How the two actors merge their talents so successfully is told in an article beginning on page 52. Cover photograph courtesy NBC-TV.



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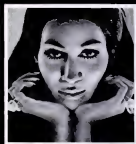
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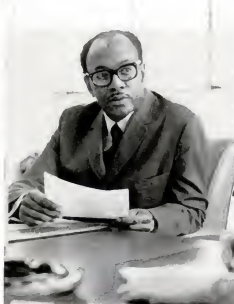
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## TAX COLLECTOR

Thad Brown, 45, is Tax Collector of the City and County of San Francisco. He has a staff of 127 persons (including attorneys, auditors and investigators) and collects more than \$325 million in city and county taxes, including those for real estate and personal property. He is also responsible for issuance of all licenses and for collection of delinquent revenue. Brown, who has a master's degree in public administration from Golden Gate College, received the position after he made the highest score in the Civil Service Competitive Examination for Tax Collector. He and his wife, Rosalie, enjoy hiking.



## SERVICES DIRECTOR

James O. Bourne, 46, director of services for the Marriott Hotel in New Orleans, supervises 145 persons in the upkeep of the 1,000-room hotel. He directs all operations of the housekeeping department, including maintenance of guest rooms, public areas, the swimming pool and ice rink. Bourne, who has a bachelor of arts degree from Howard University, is a retired Lt. Colonel who joined the Marriott Corporation after leaving the Air Force. He is divorced and is a member of the National Association of Market Developers. In his last five military years he was squadron commander and chief of supply for 509th Bomb Wing.

## SPEAKING



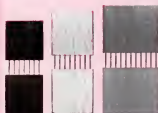
## SALES MANAGER

Edison R. Lara, 41, of Compton, Calif., is a regional sales manager for Country Club Malt Liquor. He coordinates the marketing activities of 66 distributors in Arizona, California, Nevada and Hawaii, and directs all sales, inventory, distribution, and product promotions for his region which produces sales of more than one million cases of Country Club a year. Lara, who was promoted to his present position from sales manager, majored in business administration at St. Phillips College in San Antonio, Tex. He and his wife Genevieve have three children.



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# OF PEOPLE

## INDUSTRIAL HYGIENIST

Delbert L. Flowers, 42, is Special Assistant for Occupational Health with the U. S. Dept of Labor in Washington, D. C. As an adviser to Asst. Sec. of Labor George C. Guenther, Flowers developed a health-safety program which affects four million workers. Flowers has a master of science degree from the University of Michigan and was recruited for his present position from IBM Corp. He and his wife Pearl have three children.



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## SUPERMARKET MANAGER

Corrine Houston, a supermarket manager in Detroit, is responsible for approving all merchandise orders, handling labor relations, coordinating work schedules, etc. for Wrigley Supermarket's 40 employees. Mrs. Houston, who is considered as one of the few women supermarket managers in the nation, also handles all financial records and banking for her store, which grosses \$800,000 annually. She majored in social studies at Detroit's Wayne State University. Mrs. Houston worked as head cashier and assistant manager before being promoted to her present position. She is a member of the NAACP and the PTA. She, her husband Olin, and their two children, enjoy camping.

## HOSPITAL EDUCATOR

Barbara Lauraine Nichols, director of Hospitalwide Inservice Education at St. Mary's Hospital Medical Center in Madison, Wis., coordinates the initiation, organization, planning, development and maintenance of educational programs for all departments within the 1,000-member hospital staff. Mrs. Nichols, who has a bachelor of science in nursing degree from Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland, and who is a masters candidate at the University of Wisconsin, received her position through promotion. The Waterville, Me., native is a member of the NAACP. She and her husband Larry have three children.



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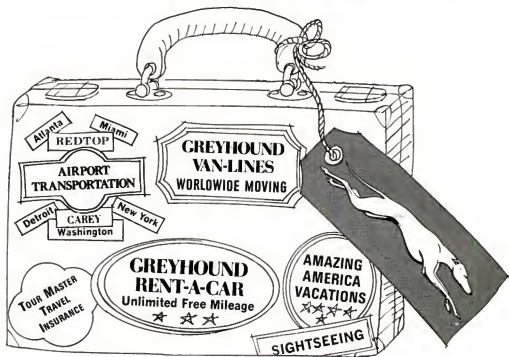


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To keep them happy and also *alive*?

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Fun'n sun give us a reason

To make this summer your Jewel season.



**We know about pride.**



# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ISAAC HAYES

The article about Helen Washington in the May issue was very touching. As

a fan of Isaac Hayes, I admire him for helping her through a time of grief. Her story is only one in a million about the hard times suffered by blacks. There should be more concern for blacks like Miss Washington.

MARGARET A. WOODARD  
Ridgeway, S. C.

## '100 MOST INFLUENTIAL'

In the May 1972 edition of Ebony magazine it is stated that the "100 Most Influential Black Americans" are selected because "they affect, in a decisive

way, the lives, thinking and actions of large segments of the nation's black population." Well, I'm wondering why you have never included a most dynamic young man who is probably more influential than most on your list, Mr. Russ Meek.

He was the first black to produce and direct his own radio and television shows (1963 and 1967 respectively); the first black to produce a documentary, *Crisis In The Cities—The Way It Is*, which was simulcast in 123 major cities in November 1968 and is still

being shown under the name *Confrontation—Black & White*. This FBL simulcast was also an Emmy Award winner and is now being utilized more than any other documentary film. His radio and television shows have always been tuned toward the "liberation of black folks" and away from the "celebrity-conscious format" that most shows run.

Brother Meek also was one of the petitioners of one of the first books, *We Charge Genocide*, to charge the U. S. government with the genocide of blacks and to present these facts to the United Nations.

I don't know how you select your people, but wouldn't you say that he has and is still influencing rather large segments of the nation's black population?

MS. MATILDA HAYWOOD  
Vice President  
Search For Truth, Inc.

Chicago, Ill.

I enjoyed your article "The 100 Most Influential Black Americans" very much but I do think that there is one person you failed to recognize—country and western singer Charlie Pride. Charlie has proven that the black man has given more to entertainment than foot-stomping and shunting.

After being voted the number one C&W singer of the year, he has, I think, earned the position of one of the "100."

DIANE PHOTT

O'Fallon, Ill.

Congratulations on your increase in women in your 1972 "100 Most Influential" list. Last year there were only seven women listed. This year you listed ten! That's a three per cent improvement. Isn't it amazing that black women, who are 55 per cent of the black population, account for only 10 per cent of the influence among blacks (according to Ebony)?

ANNETTE GILLIAM

Baltimore, Md.

I read in your May issue about the "100 Most Influential Black Americans." I notice that you all left out the eminent Bishop J. O. Patterson, the presiding bishop over the Church of God in Christ. This is a predominantly black organization with more than 5,000 churches and over three million members. This organization owns one of the largest black-owned auditoriums in America. The convocations that are held annually in Memphis attract thousands of saints and friends in America and foreign countries.

ELDER JOE HANKINS JR.  
Memphis, Tenn.

Your "100 Most Influential Black Americans" was an auspicious first year and I therefore refrained from criticizing a dozen or more of your choices. The 1972 selection has mostly repeated the same mistakes and I am thus forced to take issue with some of those picked as the most esteemed and powerful of our brothers and sisters.

Operating two businesses in two cities and being a constant traveler, I have not seen and cannot accept as the "100 Most Influential Black Americans" many federal bureaucrats and military officers of general rank with little influence in private and public affairs, particularly blacks; national heads of fraternal and



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social groups; business executives of small, mostly regional insurance companies; creative literary people who seldom maximize their tremendous potential to wield power with eloquence; black jurists who, apart from Detroit's Judge Ben Crocker (whom you twice overlooked), have had little effect on the delivery of a more equitable dispensation of law and justice to minorities; and labor leaders, no matter how revered, who cannot remotely begin to influence the white senior citizens dominating the trade union movement.

WILLIAM A. MERCK  
President  
Mercermedia, Inc.  
Washington, D. C.

## 'CASSIUS WHO?'

Will someone please inform me that the article "Cassius Who?" by Joe Frazier (EBONY, May '72) is a publicity stunt leading to the next Clay vs. Frazier fight?

I cannot believe that, at a time when black people are providing unity, an article such as this is published. I found it to be very repugnant and insignificant. One of Frazier's most repulsive statements was, "I know some blacks are bitter because of what whites did during slavery . . . but I don't think we should be forever hung up by what happened some years ago." I don't think Mr. Frazier realizes that slavery still exists in our society today, only in another form. He speaks as if slavery is the past, not the present. Whites are still our slaveholders. They hire us and fire us. Our communities are still like slave quarters. Whites still lynch us behind prison bars and in the street and they still control the economy in this so-called democratic and capitalistic society. But yet we are in torment.

Mr. Frazier also states that, "Blacks and whites simply have to get together and see how we can improve things today and forget about what happened then." Can we forget when oppression still exists?

Mrs. LYDIA BELL

Tallahassee, Fla.

Heavyweight champion Joe Frazier's article "Cassius Who?" was a sad attempt to gain the recognition as heavyweight champion from black America that was given to former heavyweight champ Muhammad Ali.

When EBONY prints the 100 influential "go niggers" of America, please, include Frazier in the top ten.

MICHELE RANEY

Orange, N. J.

Regarding your article by Joe Frazier in the May issue, I feel he should be on the top of the list of "The Most Un-Influential Black Americans."

GERTRUDE STREETER

Brooklyn, N. Y.

Your article "Cassius Who?" by Joe Frazier is the truth. He (Clay) is always around whites and lives in a predominantly white neighborhood. When does he ever give money to black organizations like other black celebrities? He only comes to collect. You see, Clay begs when he isn't around the public, like asking Frazier for an equal amount of money for their fight. If Clay is so

black, why is he always with white sports announcer Howard Cosell? When you really check him out, Cassius is a big phony.

CAHL DEBBICKS

Jamaica, N. Y.

In your May issue, Joe Frazier seemed to be putting down Muhammad Ali fans as well as the ex-champ himself when he implied that we're all dupes of Mr. Ali. He doesn't seem to understand that our admiration for the man goes beyond knowledge of who his

trainer is or who he appears with on television. It has to do with a feeling for a man who put everything he had on the line in defense of an (at the time) unpopular and radical anti-war attitude. It has to do with a feeling for a charismatic personality who, more than any other boxer in recent times, brought color and drama into the ring to make boxing the interesting sport it should be. Above all, it has to do with a feeling for a man who inspires racial pride when he makes it plain that emulating the standards of, and seeking

an ever-elusive acceptance by, those not of your kind is often incompatible with love of oneself.

Mrs. SANDRA M. MALONE  
Los Angeles, Calif.

Although I'm not in the habit of belittling my people, I feel that I have to address myself to the disgusting Joe Frazier article in the May issue of EBONY. If Mr. Frazier had taken half as much space and time to speak out against the injustice done to Muham-

Continued on Next Page

# You're not getting older. You're getting better!

(A philosophy for every woman over 25)

IN this youth-mad world, when a woman's over 25, she's considered old. Or on the way. If you're thirty, or so—you're finished! (They're almost ready to put you in the rocking chair!) Well we say—rubbish. And we say—don't let the idiots get you down! Deep inside, you know you're better than you've ever been. Not older. Better. You're warmer. Richer. More composed. You've got more feeling! You're infinitely more interesting. (When someone says hello to you at a party, you're not stuck for an answer anymore, are you?) You know you wouldn't be 18 again for anything in the world.

And do you know what? There are millions of men who wouldn't want you that way either. For all their wandering looks, most men agree a woman's not much good till she's thirty, anyway.

It's a fact. And you know it. A woman's not an age—she's a person! So what if you'll never look sweet sixteen again. Maybe you'll look better!



ONE thing we know you can make better is your hair.

Not just better than it was yesterday.

Maybe better than it ever was before.

Because there is a hair color so good for your hair it can actually make the feel of it, the texture, the sheen—better than it was. All this

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You can use Loving Care to give a naturally radiant color lift to drab or fading brunet hair (even if you don't have a touch of gray).

But the astonishment is that all the while you're doing good to the color—you're also doing real good to the hair. Making it, in fact, better. Not just better color. Silkier, glossier, fuller-looking—better hair. (Particularly great if you wear a 'fro.)

Isn't that beautiful? And you can choose from many of nature's prettiest shades.

You see, we don't care what they say in the soft drink generation. You're not getting older. You're getting better.

You're not a pretty girl anymore. You're a beautiful woman.

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Not just better color.  
Better hair.

# LETTERS

Continued

mad Ali, I would have a lot more sympathy toward his "plea to the people" for recognition as the true champion. By accepting the title while a brother was dethroned of the very same title because of racial and religious discrimination, is I think, proof of his greed for money, power, publicity and all of the things that he accuses Muhammad Ali of being.

The reason for Muhammad Ali's popularity among his peers is something that Mr. Frazier is apparently not able to comprehend. Muhammad Ali has never allowed himself to be compromised and stands up for his beliefs, which happen to be the beliefs of a great many black people, especially the young.

Mr. Frazier, I would like to address three questions to you in hope that you will read this letter. Would you have been able to defeat Muhammad Ali if he had not been dethroned? Do you realize that young black people need strong leaders to state the many things they are frustrated by and don't have the exposure to do so? Did you notice that you were not among the "100 Most Influential Black Americans" in the very same issue in which you "defended yourself?"

DIANNE M. HAYNES  
Long Island City, N. Y.

After reading the article "Cassius Who?" by Joe Frazier in the May 1972

issue, I was astounded that Frazier would go to such lengths to show his jealousy of Muhammad Ali.

If Frazier were really sure about being champion, why would he have to unleash verbal counterpunches against Muhammad Ali? Muhammad Ali isn't concerned about Frazier in any way. Ali's concern is for Ali.

If Frazier really wants to prove to the world that he is champion, let there be a rematch. Frazier doesn't want that because he knows Ali will regain his rightful title.

There is really no comparison between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frazier. Muhammad Ali is tops all the way.

Mrs. V. L. IVEY  
College Park, Md.

I see where Joe Frazier was omitted from the "100 Influential Black Americans" in the May issue. He is the champ and has paid his dues. He has two good fighters—Ali and Frazier, but Frazier is the champ. He won the fight fair. I am not for one or the other because they both are good. We should have respect for Frazier instead of calling him an Uncle Tom. He might not be everybody's choice, but he should be respected for being the champ. You don't have to be an Uncle Tom to tell the truth.

If we learn to give each other credit for what we have done, then we really will be on our way to progressing.

Mrs. LULA BYRD  
Youngstown, Ohio

Your very well presented article by Joe Frazier on Muhammad Ali proves substantially that Joe Frazier was re-

leased from the hospital too soon. He fantasizes about how much the great Muhammad Ali needs him and about how he (Frazier) helps black people. It remains clear to everybody that Muhammad Ali is the greatest fighter who ever lived. Frazier is the world's heavyweight champion to the boxing magazines, commissions and associations, but Muhammad Ali has always been and will always be the world's heavyweight champion to all black people and to all real boxing fans.

Since Frazier doesn't see such great differences between the races, why doesn't he hold a press conference and say what he's said in your interview? Perhaps, then he'll get the support, love and recognition of the whole world that he is so desperately trying to get. Frazier obviously needs his ego lifted and a return match with Muhammad Ali will definitely lift his ego, along with his body, of course. It continues to be obvious as to who needs whom.

WILLIE E. HUES  
Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii

## ADAM CLAYTON POWELL

The death of Adam Clayton Powell II ends a brilliant and successful career that leaves an indelible print in the hearts and minds of millions for whom he fought to insure the realization of the "American Dream."

He was a lone warrior fighting his battles by means of politics and legislation in days when militancy was unpopular and frowned upon. He entered the civil rights arena in such areas as

justice, fair employment, equal education, voting laws and welfare and was a vital influence in the passage of legislation that changed some American institutions.

He shall long be remembered by many for his concern for the poor and oppressed and his willingness to help wherever he could.

RUBY LEE DESBRY  
Compton, Calif.

Former Congressman Powell, the colorful minister, civil rights leader and politician who wielded audacious power, will none too soon be forgotten as the man who hosted in the face of tradition, screamed when others remained silent or whispered, and maintained a popularity with his constituency for 30 years. He was forgotten only by his detractors who chose only to remember the gossip-laden morsels he trailed in his wake.

Whether walking picket lines for over a quarter of a century, ministering to the religious needs of one of America's largest churches, passionately fighting for jobs, loudly defending the rights of blacks and minorities, or skillfully guiding many major bills through his committee to final passage, the genius of Adam Clayton Powell will always be remembered.

Mrs. HETTY PASCO  
Buffalo, N. Y.

## MAHALIA JACKSON

I just could not let this month go by without giving you my comments on the

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# LETTERS

Continued

think the writer had better go back and mingle with the real black residents of Las Vegas, not the transient superstars and token Negroes.

Mrs. CYNTHIA J. LEWIS  
Otis AFB, Mass.

I was impressed with Louie Robinson's article "Las Vegas: Entertainment Capital Of The World." Not only did the article praise the black entertainers

(this appraisal is long overdue), it also gave the reader a review of the black holding prominent positions both common and uncommon to the Las Vegas gambling life. Photographing the performers in one picture displayed "togetherness." Subtlety, Robinson reminds us of those entertainers who paved the way for other entertainers i.e., the Will Mastin Trin starring Sammy Davis Jr. and Nat (King) Cole.

All black people have struggled in everyday life for equality, but the black entertainers have had to face this struggle

publicly, which sometimes is worse. Robinson clearly shows that these people are responsible for a good portion of the Vegas riches.

DONNA LYNN LEAVY  
Philadelphia, Pa.

After reading your April article on Las Vegas, I suddenly realized why Sammy Davis Jr. titled his book *Yes I Can*. (I am a Chicaoo.)

Right on!  
RUDY SANCHEZ  
Gilroy, Calif.

## ANGELA DAVIS

In the April issue of *ENONY*, Angela Davis suggested that fascism may take over this country and that "that's when you can't have a demonstration, you can't have a rally. That's when you can't even talk about trying to achieve a people's victory through the courts."

She surely knows, but does not tell people, that in that regard fascism and communism are equally restrictive. She would not even be able to make such a public statement in Russia or China without being imprisoned (without trial) or put in an insane asylum as a "mentally disturbed" person.

FRANCES L. McELDERERY  
Idyllwild, Calif.

## STATE BLACK POWER

Your April 1972 issue contains a timely article by Alex Poinsett, "Black Power in State Governments," but the article unfortunately contains a flagrant omission. The chart of state legislators on page 100 contains no indication that there is indeed one black legislator in the New Jersey Senate, State Sen. Wyona M. Lipman.

The omission is all the more striking when you consider some of the pertinent facts regarding Sen. Lipman. She reached the Senate in 1972, having previously served three years as an Essex County Freholder. In 1971, she served as director of the Essex County Board of Freholders—the first black woman to act in that capacity.

Previously she had had many notable achievements to her credit: Columbia University Ph.D., Fulbright scholar at the Sorbonne, tutor to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Morehouse College professor—all of these before she turned to politics.

In a few short years she has reached the New Jersey State Senate to which no black person and no woman had previously been elected. In view of the fact that her constituency is in Essex County, which has almost a million inhabitants, three-fourths of whom are not black, this must be considered an impressive accomplishment.

Mrs. MARVIN RICE  
Montclair, N. J.

On behalf of the National Conference of State Legislative Leaders, I should like to compliment you on the April article entitled, "Black Power in State Governments." We sincerely believe that the state legislature is the critical forum before which the major problems facing the American people must be solved in the coming years. Your article validates our belief that the state legislature has become representative of all the people in the country and that it increasingly is becoming the logical vehicle for the settlement of social and economic problems. At a time when so much emphasis is placed on the alienation of people from the system it is gratifying to see your publication point out that the electoral power of the people permits them to place representatives within their government who speak for their point of view regardless of what it might be. I am sure all of us associated with the state legislature feel that you have done a great service by spotlighting the very valuable contribution black men and women are making

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—ARTHUR GODFREY



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## CHRYSLER

Plymouth



## LETTERS

Continued

at the state and local level and I hope you will continue to follow this very significant development in American government.

CHARLES O. DAVIS  
Executive Secretary  
National Conference of State  
Legislative Leaders  
Milwaukee, Wis.

Milwaukee, Wis.

In your April 1972 issue on page 98

you incorrectly identify me as Rep. Coleman A. Young. Actually I am a Michigan state senator as you correctly indicate in the body of your article on page 103. Also I am a Democratic Floor Leader instead of "Minority Floor Leader" as you indicated. Lastly, I am one of only three blacks who are National Democratic Committeemen representing a state.

COLEMAN A. YOUNG  
*State Senator*

**Editor's Note:** We regret the errors and

apologize for any inconvenience they may have caused Sen. Young.

### 'I READ THE WHOLE THING'

I've just finished reading the April issue of EBONY and, "couldn't believe I'd read the *whole* thing." So I read it again and came to the same conclusion: "The *whole* thing" is worth reading again and again.

MRS. ZARA P. WYNN

Neptune, N. J.

### 'SYMPATHETIC WHITE MAN'

This is in response to Roy Hollanders' "Sympathetic White Man" letter in your May issue.

Mr. Hollander, do you have any statistics that state the non-physical crimes whites have performed against blacks, such as unequal employment opportunities, unfair housing, denied voting rights, etc.? Or maybe some physical crimes such as lynchings, burning and bombing of property?

Need I say more?

LACHEL BRYANT

Chicago, Ill.

Mr. Hollander said that possibly the black readers could tell him "why there is no concerted effort by blacks to show their unhappiness with their more violent brothers." Even though I am not a black reader, I would like to respond. We, my white brother, are "their more violent brothers." We are part of the white racist system that has done violence to the black man ever since he came to this land. In fact, we did the most violent act of injustice when we brought the black man against his will to this so-called land of freedom.

How can we fail to see that the long list of evils which you mentioned are an indictment against us, the white oppressors, *the more violent ones*? How can we fail to see that these evils are blatant reminders to what happens to an oppressed people. This is our problem, we created it, and we keep it in existence by our racist practices in housing, employment and education. How can we continue to ask the wrong questions of the wrong people?

MARY ANN DREWUP, SND  
*St. James School*

Dayton, Ohio

The next time you get a reactionary letter like Mr. Roy Hollander's, don't bother to print it. I'm kind of angry with you for doing so!

MRS. OLADU KAHU OBEY

Bronx, Ohio

Letters intended for this column should be addressed to: **Letters To The Editor, EBONY Magazine, 820 S. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill. 60605.** To be considered for publication, letters must bear the name and address of the sender and—because of space limitation—should not be unduly long.

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## FRONY PICTURES

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# BACKSTAGE

THE PROGRAM began not a minute late. To the right of Editor and Publisher John H. Johnson, founder of Johnson Publishing Co., Inc., sat Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley. On the left were Ebony Senior Editor Lerone Bennett Jr. and Illinois Post Laureate Gwendolyn Brooks. Also on the red-

carpeted platform were the publisher's mother, Mrs. Gertrude Johnson Williams, his wife, Mrs. Eunice Johnson, and their two children, John Jr. and Linda. In front and below Mr. Johnson sat members of the JPC family and some of Chicago's most influential citizens. All were there for the official opening ceremony of our new corporate headquarters building.

The standing ovation that greeted the publisher had finally settled down and

now he was speaking: "... I would like to emphasize that this day, which reverberates with the echoes of so many distant hopes, was a long time coming."

Indeed, the day, May 16, 1972, was for Mr. Johnson, his family and employees—the culmination of 30 years of dreams and of day after day of hard work. Finally, after years of moving from one location to another (four different buildings) on Chicago's South Side, JPC and its 300 employees now have

a spectacular new home. Built at a cost of more than \$7 million, the 11-story structure houses the editorial offices of Ebony, Jet, Black World and Black Stars—the four JPC magazines—and is headquarters for other Johnson enterprises, including Johnson Publishing Book Division and Ebony Fashion Fair. It is significant that not only was the building's architect a black man but that black firms were awarded numerous construction contracts. Following through on our recognition of black capabilities and the acute need for providing job opportunities for blacks, we acquired the services of black-owned firms ranging from a florist who places and cares for dozens of live plants in the offices to the security and maintenance services which daily send in a small army of men and women for a variety of chores. Especially significant is the fact that our new home has one of the largest private collections of the works of black American and African artists—some 120 paintings and sculptures valued at \$250,000.

So, naturally, during our May 16 and 17 Open House, our chests swelled with pride as we escorted more than 3,000 guests through the new building. And by the end of each tour, it was obvious that the guests were as impressed as we were proud.

For an outside view, there's the picture below. For an inside look, feel free to get in touch with us to arrange a guided tour of our building the next time you're in Chicago.

After all, our readers are the real backbone of our success. And we at Ebony try to thank you by making each issue of our magazine add something worthwhile to your life.

For example, next month you'll get our annual Special Issue. This time, our subject is "The Black Male," a sequel to our 1966 Special Issue "The Black Woman."



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*"It's the big bank...with the little bank inside"*



By Phyl Garland

**O**RIGINAL east show albums can be a sometime thing. Too often the songs fail to stand up on their own without the accompanying dramatic action, leaving one up-in-the-air as to what the whole thing was supposed to be about—rather like sitting down to a meal consisting of an appetizer followed by dessert with no meat, fish or fowl in between. However, two recent releases overcome this handicap mainly because they are derived from shows that had no discernible story lines.

*Inner City* (RCA LSO-1171) is taken from a "street cantata" based on **Eve Merriam's** book "The Inner City Mother Goose," with music by **Heleen Miller**. A less than distinctive pastiche of vignettes about life in New York City, it failed to hold its own on Broadway, but it did stay there long enough to win a Tony award for singer **Linda Hopkins** as Best Supporting Actress this year. Indeed, **Miss Hopkins**, who blasted her way out from the chorus of *Purlie*, is one of the year's choices as a talent most deserving of greater recognition. Believe me, this lady has soul by the bucketful and can come on with some freakishly high notes that make the toes tingle. Working with a fine cast, she did much to lift *Inner City* above banality and gave the show its finest moment with her profoundly emotional rendition of the ballad "Deep In the Night."

While *Inner City* took a politely telescopic view of things as they are, **Melvin Van Peebles' *Ain't Supposed to Die A Natural Death*** carried a highly stylized version of Harlem to Broadway with gusto and grittiness which account, in great part, for its longer run. Subtitled "Tunes from Blackness," its raw material might well have been picked up in a poolroom, cultivated on a street corner and whipped into shape in a pimp's paradise. No subtle social worker's commentary here. The stage production represented an acting out of material **Van Peebles** previously had presented on two recordings, *Brer Soul* (AM SP-4161)

and *Ain't Supposed to Die A Natural Death* (AM SP-4223). It was on the basis of these older discs, on which **Van Peebles** was narrator-actor as well as composer, that this writer was turned on to his genius—more so than his film productions. While the show album presents a number of actors projecting the same lines **Van Peebles** interpreted himself on the earlier sets, it suffers in comparison due to a lean quality in the musical background. This is most apparent on the ultra-funky "Lilly Done the Zampoughi Everytime I Pulled Her Coattail." But the gut-poetry of **Van Peebles** dares one to be indifferent to it, regardless of the context in which it is presented. Best bet: Dig all three.

Meanwhile, **Melvin** (alias *Sweetback*) has produced yet another album of his talk-tunes with, again, himself as solo-superstar. It's called *As Serious As A Heart Attack* (Am SP-4326). Here he has made the terrible mistake of trying to sound "country" and comes across as phony as **George Wallace** doing the Zampoughi. His reliance on stereotyped images, which was somewhat forgivable in his more sophisticated efforts, is gratefully distasteful. Even the late **Walt Disney**, who was hardly a champion of the black cause, might have shied away from such corny and contrived representation of rural black folk. **Van Peebles** should have stuck to his pimps and whores. One of the worst records I've ever heard. Just one step beyond minstrelsy.

**Novella Nelson** (Desto A1001). In her club dates, this gifted singer and stage director comes on with the simplicity and understated strength of everybody's earth mother. In her strong-featured, raw-boned presence she seems to embody the essence of all black women of the past. It is not difficult to picture her doing a **Harriet Tubman** on an Underground Railroad of her own making. Yet it should be noted that she can be appreciated to the fullest extent only when seen, for she is primarily an actress and her singing voice is but one method of message conveyance. This recorded sampling of her artistry fails to do her justice, in spite of splendid **Phil Moore** (the star-maker) arrangements. Best tracks are Moore's "Cold Water Flat," "Johnny (Guns and Drums)" and "I Wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free." For those unfamiliar with **Miss Nelson's** work, it might be noted that she played *Purlie's* aunt on Broadway and was the show's true soul singer.

# LIGHTER THAN SCOTCH, SMOOTHER THAN CANADIAN.

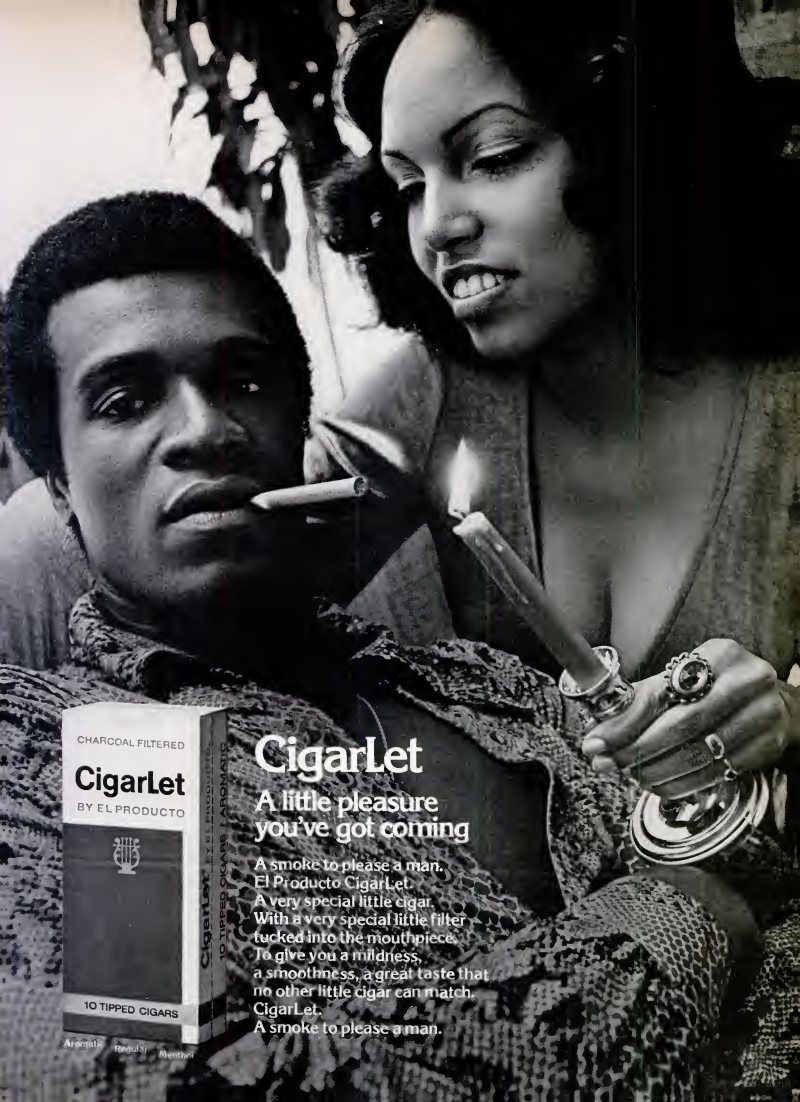
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# EBONY BOOK SHELF

**Dick Gregory's Political Primer**, by Dick Gregory. With double-edged humor, the author explores the labyrinth of the electoral process—the mysteries of the electoral college and the seniority system, the problem of choice between the two major parties, the use and abuse of

primaries, the comedy of conventions, the comparative cost of gaining various seats, etc. Harper & Row. \$6.95

**The World of Duke Ellington**, by Stanley Dance. The author writes: "This book is neither a history, a biography, nor an all-inclusive survey. It is addressed primarily to those who have already experienced and been fascinated by the musical world of Duke Ellington, and it seeks to present different views of this world as seen by the inhabitants."

Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.95

**The Quality of Hurt: The Autobiography of Chester Himes**, by Chester Himes. "This volume of my autobiography recounts all that memory retains of the 45 years of my hurt. America hurt me terribly, whether rightly or wrongly is not the point. When I fought back through writing, it decided to kill me, whether because I was a degenerate ex-convict who refused to wear sackcloth and ashes, a Negro who refused to accept

the Negro Problem as my own, a 'nigger' who would not conform to the existence prescribed for niggers, or a black man who pitied white women. I will never know." So writes Chester Himes. \$7.95

**Passport to Freedom**, by Charles G. Hurt Jr. The author, president of Chicago's Malcolm X College, discusses the effect of racism on black youth and the urgent need for revitalizing the nation's entire educational structure to meet their needs. He reviews the great contributions of Malcolm X, El Hadji El Malik Shabazz to the black community and the inspiration Malcolm X gave the college that bears his name. Linnet Books. \$7.95

**Black Women in White America**, by Gerda Lerner. In their own words, black women recount their defeats and victories in the fight against the malicious racism and sexism that have been and continue to be prevalent in this society. They tell not only what it's like to be oppressed—as blacks and as women—but also how they have managed to survive despite their oppression. Pantheon Books. \$12.95

**Free Schools**, by Jonathan Kozol. This book grows out of the experiences of parents and young teachers who reject the racism, neglect and desperation of public schools within ghetto neighborhoods and decide to create independent Free Schools for their children. Houghton Mifflin Company. \$4.95

**Black Drama Anthology**, edited by Woodie King and Ron Milner. The 23 plays in this collection vary widely in mood, method and mode of attack. They deal in time with both the historical past and the near future. In their creation of a new, unique and viable theater, the plays compare with jazz in their innovative power. All, however, have their foundations firmly rooted in the uncompromising truth of the black experience. Columbia University Press. \$7.95

**Four African Literatures: Xhosa, Sotho, Zulu, Amharic**, by Albert S. Gérard. Creative writing in the African languages dates for the most part from the early 19th century. The purpose of this book is to observe the process of birth and growth of modern literature produced in four African languages. Its approach is primarily historical. University of California Press. \$15.00

**To Me It's Wonderful**, by Ethel Waters. This is the author's account of how she found her way "back home to Jesus" after so many years in a spiritual desert. In 1957, a very special year in her spiritual calendar, Miss Waters was re-introduced to Jesus by Billy Graham and his team. Harper & Row. \$3.95

**The Spirituals and the Blues**, by James H. Cone. In this interpretative study, the author, a black theologian, focuses on the spirituals and the blues as a way of life, "an artistic affirmation of the meaningfulness of black existence." He examines the grounding of the spirituals in black history; the theological perceptions of God, Jesus and black suffering they embody; and the vision of black hope set forth. Likewise, he examines the close relationship of the blues to the spirituals and its significance. The Seabury Press. \$4.95



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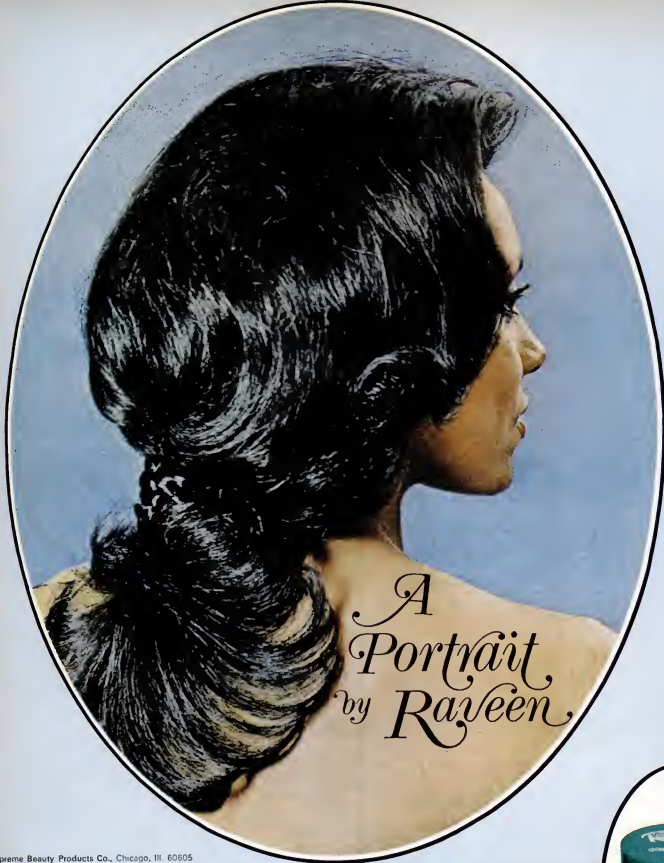


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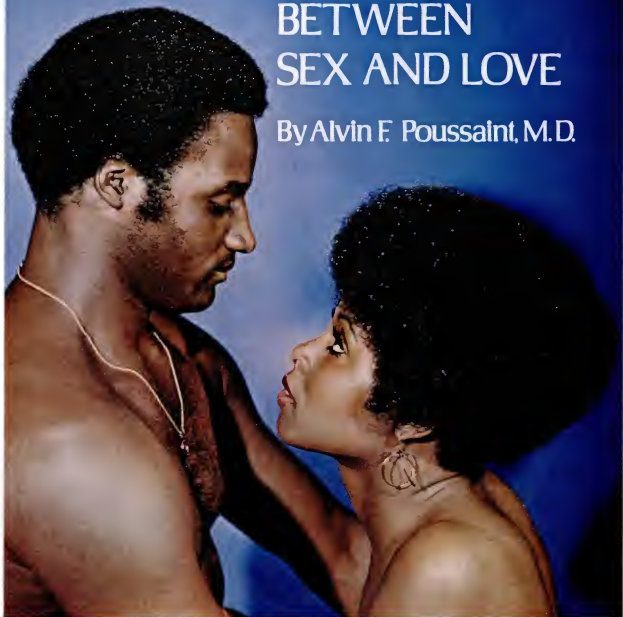


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# *How to tell* THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SEX AND LOVE

By Alvin F. Poussaint, M.D.



**Love and sex**, as well as the perils resulting from confusing the two, come under close scrutiny in this article by Dr. Alvin F. Poussaint, associate professor of psychiatry at Harvard University Medical School. Author refutes concept of "love at first sight," says, "Sexual attraction may be immediate experience."

**Black psychiatrist explores confusion involving spiritual and physical attractions**

**I**S THERE a difference between sex and love? Most people believe there is. Yet, we have so mixed the feelings of loving affection and sexual attraction that it is sometimes hard to separate the two.

The confusion of the sexual urge with love has been plaguing mankind since the beginning of time. All of us have struggled to understand our erotic and amorous attractions. Coming to wrong conclusions has often led to personal and family tragedy. Girls and boys have fallen in love "at first sight" only to quickly lose interest after their first sexual encounter. Men and women "blindly in love" have married only to discover shortly thereafter that their "love" was at best a sexual attraction that could not sustain the commit-



**Romantic love** is frequently viewed as the exclusive preserve of the young—an erroneous view, according to Dr. Poussaint, who is convinced that romance can affect people of almost any age “though with age and experience, most people grow less susceptible to the acute intoxication of sudden amorous involvements.”

## SEX AND LOVE *Continued*

ment of marriage. Many people, frustrated and bewildered, wonder: “What is this thing called love?”

Is it possible for people without strong sexual interest to love each other? Yes, certainly they can. Particularly in love relations that involve families and close friends. Parents and children may deeply love each other. They may show their love in a physical way—by hugging and kissing—but usually their affection does not have a sexual character. All of us learn to repress sexual interest toward parents, brothers and sisters, and other close relatives. Nevertheless, we can be aware of deep love and affection for them. When sexual impulses are directed toward relatives, they are considered unacceptable. Parents who commit incest are judged to be criminal as well as mentally disturbed. Society has let us all know that the expression of sexual feelings in certain love relationships is not allowed.

There are other love attachments in which sexual feelings are weak. For example, the love a student may feel for a teacher and the love members of the same sex may feel for each other. Pre-adolescent boys and girls develop close friendships without strong sexual impulses. Older couples may have strong love bonds long after sexual interest has waned. Even young adults become involved in close heterosexual friendships that remain platonic.

However, the love relationship we are most concerned with is “boy meets girl” romantic

love. It has been so closely linked to sexual impulses that it defies a clear definition. Frenchmen have defied it with the word “*Tamour*.” Epics, novels and poems have been inspired by its passion and fury. Movies and TV have overplayed the romantic love theme and overrated its value and importance in human relations. Young men fantasize a life with beautiful princesses, and young women await the knight on a shining black horse. Many people develop unrealistic expectations of their mate. They quickly become disappointed and cynical when they discover their partner’s human frailties. In other times and places when parents arranged their children’s marriages for economic and social reasons, young people did not have grand notions of “living happily ever after.” Romantic love is mainly identified with the young, but all ages are vulnerable to it, though with age and experience, most people grow less susceptible to the acute intoxication of sudden amorous involvements.

When adolescents begin to feel the first gnawings of sexuality and romance, they may be overwhelmed and confused. Their “crushes” on adults are often the first signs of awakening romantic sensitivities. Most adults do not think these early erotic stirrings are the “real thing” and speak of “infatuations” and “puppy love.” Such terms imply that the feelings are immature, are based mostly on physical attractions and are likely to be short-lived.



**M**ANY psychologists suggest that "being in love" is a state in which sex and love merge with each other and are directed exclusively to one person: the lover chooses someone to love. All of us have certain sensibilities. We may develop preferences for a particular hair color or shape of nose and mouth. Or we may be attracted toward certain styles and mannerisms. Some people may develop preferences that border on prejudice—men who can "love" only women with big breasts, women who can relate only to men with straight hair. In our discriminatory society, blacks are often conditioned to admire whiteness. For each person, the individualized attractions may become "beauty." The loved one may become a projection of the lover's own ideal image. In an intense romance, the actual traits of the loved one may be misperceived by the lover. Love becomes "blind," and the lover sees only what he wishes to see. Some psychologists, incidentally, consider falling in love a "benign psychosis"—a simple form of mental illusion. Since "being in love" can severely distort good sense, experienced adults warn the young of its perils.

Love is not possible "at first sight." As we grow older, most of us realize that true love comes only after a long growth process, spanning many years. It develops and blossoms with repeated contacts and shared experiences. Sexual attraction, on the other hand, may be an immediate experience. One can be aroused sexually by his own fantasies or the press of his physiological needs. Sex is usually considered a biological drive or instinct. The sexual impulse can be satisfied through masturbation and sexual intercourse, which may not include emotional involvement with another person. Love always involves a personal relationship. A person can have sex with anyone, but love is always directed toward a special individual. Love is not a biological need. It is a psychic feeling that is spiritually pleasurable. Sexual intercourse with a loved one should not lead to a loss of interest in that person. It should enhance the feeling of closeness. Love always involves giving as well as taking. Sex may involve only taking. Theodore Reik, a well-known psychoanalyst, once wrote: "The sex urge hunts for lustful pleasure; love is in search of joy and happiness."

A person's sexual make-up includes at least two parts: One is the pure sexual impulse that seeks genital pleasure. The other is the spiritual-erotic component that attracts one person to another. In a love partnership, sex attains its consummation and perfection.

In contrast, simple sexual cravings are not always associated with amorous feelings. Most people have abundant and natural sexual curiosities. It is very important to understand that erotic yearnings are normal but, nevertheless, many people feel ashamed of purely sexual desires. They consider them sinful—the evils of the flesh. Some religious groups teach that sex should be used for procreation only and should not be indulged in for the sake of pleasure.



**Most fundamental** of all love is clearly that between parents and their children. In the author's opinion, even if parents and children "show their love in a physical way—by hugging and kissing—usually their affection doesn't have sexual character."

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## SEX AND LOVE *Continued*

These attitudes make it especially difficult to separate and distinguish between sexual desire and love. In fact, we generally refer to sexual intercourse as "making love." Some writers have suggested that the use of this term expresses our attempt to overcome feelings of guilt and shame by mentioning love whenever sexual activity occurs. For instance, many people—particularly women—will, because of their shame about sexuality, describe their purely sexual attractions as love. They feel guilty about their biological desires, so they try to soften the guilt by suggesting their attraction is on a higher plane. When young black girls have a child out of wedlock, they call him (or her) a "love-child," though perhaps it is a "sex-child." In other words, some young people force themselves "to be in love" with a person for whom they only feel sexual desire.

In the past, when premarital relations were strictly forbidden, boys and girls often married just to possess each other sexually. Frequently, the marriage ended when the couples lost interest in each other, after their sexual needs had been satisfied. One of the arguments in support of premarital intercourse is that it helps young couples to distinguish between purely sexual attractions and love *before* they take their marriage vows. We all know people who fall in and out of love three or five times a year because they are unable to distinguish between love and sex. Young people especially may overrate the binding power of physical attraction. The mystery and fascination of sexual intercourse become less mind-clouding after it is experienced. Sometimes, sexual drives interfere with good sense and rational processes. We are usually better able to objectively assess the personality of members of the opposite sex when their sexual attraction is minimal.

On the other hand, most people realize that often the first attraction they feel toward a potential love-mate is a physical one. This is particularly true of men, who are drawn on by female beauty and physical endowments before they enter a relationship that develops into a loving one. Women, for many cultural reasons, do not strictly follow this pattern and may be attracted to a man because of his accomplishments and personality rather than his physical attributes. However, as women become "liberated," they may change courting patterns and more actively try to satisfy their sexual needs instead of suppressing them in exchange for a man "who can give me security." Thus, in marriage men may place too much weight on sexual attraction, and women may put too little emphasis on it.

**C**AN someone "in love" with one person be sexually attracted to someone else? Many people would say "no!" But the answer is "yes!" Sexual attraction is often purely biological. In a recent popular magazine survey of well-educated young American adults, about three-quarters of both men and women felt that love greatly enriches sexual relations but is not necessary for sexual enjoyment. Only a few (about 12 per cent) believed that sexual



The "crush," a popular concept characterized by a deep emotional attachment which many young children and adolescents develop for certain adults, especially teachers, is viewed by Dr. Poussaint as the first sign of awakening romantic sensitivity and likely to be short-lived.

intercourse should be reserved exclusively for the expression of serious love. About three-quarters of the survey group believed that there is no "one-and-only" for each of us and that it is possible to be romantically in love with several people at the same time. This suggests that many Americans no longer consider sexual activity to be sacred. Nevertheless, many people continue to feel that if they experience sexual feelings toward anyone but their beloved, then they are not "in love." Others suffer deep guilt when they become aware of their own sexual feelings toward

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**SEX AND LOVE** *Continued*

someone other than their spouse—even though such guilt is unnecessary. Most psychologists report that these feelings are normal. However, whether people decide to act on their sexual attraction is a different matter.

Most men and women in close love relationships and in marriage expect and demand sexual loyalty from their partners. Long standing love bonds are often broken because of one act of sexual infidelity. Indeed, in a case



**Non-sexual attraction** between human beings begins early in life and plays an important part in interhuman relations at practically every age. "Even young adults," according to article's author, "become involved in close heterosexual friendships that remain platonic."

of infidelity, the victimized partner quickly assumes that his (or her) mate does not love him (or her). In fact, many wives have felt unloved and betrayed when they discovered that their husbands occasionally masturbated. They wanted their husband's sexual interests directed just toward them. The association of complete sexual loyalty with loving another person has been firmly implanted in the values most of us learn. However, it is coming under close scrutiny as sexual freedom becomes more widespread.

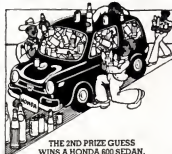
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Window shopping takes on double meaning in photo above as a husband has obvious difficulties suppressing his male instincts despite society's insistence on marital fidelity. Dr. Poussaint, who believes that it is quite natural for people to be attracted to more than one person of the opposite sex, points out that many people "suffer deep guilt when they become aware of their own sexual feelings toward someone other than their spouses—even though such guilt is unnecessary."

## SEX AND LOVE Continued

just as much!" But most spouses cannot emotionally accept this explanation, and they head for the nearest divorce court. The question is: Can husbands and wives love their partners and still seek and enjoy sex with someone else?

Kinsey, in his study in 1945 found that about 50 per cent of American married men had extramarital affairs by age 40. The comparable figure for women was 26 per cent. Most recent statistics indicate that the percentage of men and women who have extramarital relations sometime during marriage is much higher. Do these men and women not love their spouses? Are they not good husbands and wives?

The rules governing extramarital intercourse vary widely from society to society. Our culture has adopted the principle that adultery is a cardinal sin for both men and women. Yet, in practice, few societies have severely punished men for their extramarital activities. Historically, the situation has been different for women. In most societies, a woman who committed adultery was punished and ostracized. The double standard for judging male

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and female extramarital activity stems from the concept of women as property. A married man who strays is exercising his right as a free individual, whereas similar behavior by a woman is considered a transgression of her status as chattel. This attitude is certainly an example of male chauvinism. In fact, some men considered an adulterous wife a threat to their social prestige and a reproach to their masculinity. Despite penalties and social sanctions against extramarital sex in our own society, the activity has been widespread—though more among men than among women.

**R**ECENTLY, I had a talk with a young woman who had two young children and whose husband had many extramarital affairs. They were still living together and she said they had a "good marriage." She believed that her husband truly loved her, despite his casual contact with other women. He had nearly all his extramarital sexual experiences on business trips and managed to preserve the stability of his family life. His wife showed little concern and had long ago stopped wanting to know about each of her husband's affairs. She felt little jealousy and praised her spouse both as a husband and as a father. She was, indeed, a very unusual woman.

In the past, most of her well-meaning friends would have advised her to leave her husband to preserve her own honor and dignity. Although her husband revealed that he would not mind if she had affairs, she was not interested in doing so. Whether, in fact, he would have put up with outside sexual activities on her part we will never know.

Many women complain of a double standard. Although a man may want his wife to accept his love and may argue that she should regard his sexual involvement with other women as sex only, he may feel hurt and unmoved when his wife has an affair with another man. As a result many women feel that men are trying to con them when they say sex and love are two different things.

Many men do not dissolve their marriage when they learn that their wives have had extramarital relations, though most are initially upset. Black men and women may be especially sensitive to acts of infidelity because they are insecure about their respective manhood and womanhood. Many men have murdered or maimed their wives after one act of sexual disloyalty. The courts are very sympathetic to husbands who murder wives' boyfriends in a fit of jealous rage. Many acts of violence, homicide and suicide in the black community are directly traceable to concerns about the sexual infidelity of a loved one.

Perhaps the greatest threat that an extramarital affair presents to the stability of a marriage is the fact that the involved partner will devote considerable time, energy and frequently money to the other person. The love and caring that a spouse should receive are diverted to an illicit lover. Under this strain many amorous partnerships break down, families become disrupted, and children hurt. Fortunately, some husbands and wives who stray are discrete and family trauma is minimized. Nonetheless, there is always the danger that

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\*Whole Milk values derived from USDA Handbook No. 8

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\*\*Vitamin D fortified milk at 400 USP units/gallon.

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## SEX AND LOVE *Continued*

the involved spouse will "fall in love" with the extramarital partner. Thus, even when extramarital affairs are undertaken purely as a sexual outlet, the risk is considerable.

In cases where the husband and wife have an "understanding," discoveries about the spouse's illicit sex life may raise little concern. In fact, in the last decade, an increasing number of married couples have turned to mate-swapping or "swinging" as an escape from the traditional monogamous marriage. The recent movie "Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice" explored these new attitudes. There are now numerous books on the subject of "group sex." "Swinging" has become significant enough to cause university professors and social scientists to actively study it. One research team recently concluded that "contrary to many who have assumed that any extramarital activity results in at least some jealousy and possibly even marital breakup, especially when there is emotional involvement, we have found that swinging often succeeds in solidifying a marriage." This conclusion is far from being an accepted part of most people's values.

Yet, many people claim that an extramarital affair helped their marriage and improved their sexual compatibility. This is at least some evidence that love feelings and sexual behavior need not always coincide to sustain a successful marriage. As society becomes less moralistic, perhaps the rage and jealousy that most of us feel about sexual infidelity will diminish and we will be more rational about crucial decisions regarding members of the opposite sex. However, since we learn sexual values early in life, most of us find it very difficult to suppress a "gut" reaction when our sense of morality is violated. Ordinarily, the love present in a reasonably stable marriage should be able to withstand the strain of one or two acts of indiscretion.

**N**O ONE can establish rules about sex and love that will satisfy the philosophy and values of all people. However, we should not let prudishness stand in the way of knowledge of the ingredients of sexual attraction versus romantic love. This knowledge is especially important when a person decides to begin or end a long-term relationship. "Being in love" has two components—the spiritual and the sexual. Most people would probably agree that the strongest and most lasting is the spiritual. Although happy sexual adjustment in marriage enhances the psychic bond, in many fine marriages and love relationships sexual adjustment is less than ideal.

Given their particular life experiences, all people must make sexual choices that will not unnecessarily disrupt the sense of emotional and moral well-being of themselves or their loved ones. Whether or not it is desirable to engage in sexual activity solely for its own sake is a question of values that each individual must decide for himself.

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Only two years after he went to Congress, William Dawson, Democrat from Chicago, markedly influenced the crucial 1944 Democratic vice presidential nomination.

## 1944 Pre-Convention Maneuverings: THE DAY DAWSON SAVED AMERICA FROM A RACIST PRESIDENT

By Doris E. Saunders

*Black delegates to the upcoming Democratic National Convention will be a lot more numbersome than in 1944 when a scant 30 to 40 black people were in attendance. The issue confronting the nation's Democrats who met in Chicago in 1944 was an important one. It*

*was nothing less momentous than the choice of a running mate for the ailing President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Should Roosevelt die before completing his term, the man selected at the convention would succeed him. And a Southern reactionary, James F. Byrnes, was the leading contender for the No. 2 spot. The following account, excerpted and condensed from the forthcoming book,*

*The Politician: The Life and Times of William L. Dawson, by Doris E. Saunders, describes Rep. Dawson's success in denying the vice presidential nomination to Byrnes.*

**N**ATIONAL political conventions are legendary for the deals that are made in the corridors and smoke-filled rooms. The 1944 Democratic National Convention lived up to the legends. The biggest battles were behind the scenes. Time after time during that hot, humid nerve-wracking week of July 18, the convention program was altered and timetables rearranged in order to keep any issue from coming to the floor at a time when the balance was so delicate that the slightest tremor could have split the convention wide open.

But as exciting as the actual convention was, the pre-convention maneuvering was from many points of view more critical and of greater historic consequence than that which took place following the convention opening. The importance of those pre-convention hours to the history of the black man in the United States is incalculable. It is a story that for the most part is unknown.

The decision of Franklin D. Roosevelt to go for a fourth term had thrown the Democratic Party into one of its most divisive periods in history. There was great dissatisfaction with the Roosevelt administration on the part of the Southern conservatives who felt that the party had been taken over by the "Commies and the nigras." Both the "red-lovers and the nigger lovers" had to be put back in their place, and according to the Southern die-hards who controlled the state conventions, the 1944 convention was the place to get the job done. Vice President Henry A. Wallace, the darling of blacks and liberals, was anathema to the South, regardless of his concern for the "common man." If the solid South was to remain solid and in the Democratic Party, then Wallace had to go, and a true son of the South must be placed on the ticket in his place. The South was also determined to restore the two-thirds rule to convention procedures. For 104 years it had been the means by which they maintained control of the presidential selection process. It had been eliminated in 1936 by the rule of the majority, and the South lost its veto power over the presidential candidate. They wanted the two-thirds rule back.

The black constituency of the Democratic Party was likewise disgruntled. The long arm of American racism had stretched overseas, and as World War II moved into high gear, the alert black press picked up the startling rumor that black WACs were to be rushed to Europe primarily as a device to keep their black brothers in uniform from being shown too much Caucasian female hospitality. Segregated Red Cross clubs were set up in England and on the continent. Lucius Harper, Chicago Defender editor, wrote in disgust, "Is this a people's war or a war against the people? It is too fascist, too un-American, too internationally subversive. If we are fighters for human freedom, we must act the part."

There was still no anti-lynching law on the

"The importance of those pre-convention hours to the black man is incalculable."



**Although Dawson (left)** participated in 1944 Democratic Convention, his greatest contribution to it was made long before it convened in Chicago (below). Maneuvering behind scenes to prevent racist James Brynes from receiving vice presidential slot, Dawson altered recent American history.







"In Congress, one lone black man represented all of U. S. black people."

# Dawson Continued

books, and although black GIs overseas were going through hell for democracy, they were still being strung up like cattle in places such as Sikeston, Mo. The Fair Employment Practices Committee had been hamstrung, without authority or adequate funding to carry out the roles for which it was created by the President. Directors and black members took turns in announcing their resignations.

In South Carolina, a group of blacks had organized the Progressive Democratic Party. They had elected 18 delegates to go to the Chicago convention and contest the seating of the delegates who represented the lily-white Democratic Party of South Carolina. The Progressive Democrats under the leadership of State Chairman John McCray, A. S. Clements and Dr. R. L. Wilson, were committed to raising the crucial issue of whether a group which did not permit all citizens, regardless of race, to participate, and whose electors were not pledged to support the Democratic Party, could be seated at the convention.

The South Carolina group had been given some strong ammunition by the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the case of *Smith vs. Allwright*. That brilliant trio of black legal talent,

Howard University's Charles Houston, William Hastie (who had resigned from his position as civilian aide to the Secretary of War in protest of discrimination against Negroes in the armed forces) and NAACP Special Counsel Thurgood Marshall had developed a battle plan which hit at the heart of Southern white political power—the so-called white primary. Enshrined in a sacrosanct body of quasi-constitutional state laws and post-Reconstruction "tradition," the "white primary" insured white political supremacy and laid the ground work for nearly a century of Southern domination of the U.S. Congress through the seniority system. The legal strategy of the black plan won out when the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the prior decisions and rendered an 8 to 1 landmark decision in favor of the black litigant Dr. Lonnie E. Smith of Houston. The NAACP, arguing for Dr. Smith, contended that he and other qualified blacks were denied the right to vote in the primary elections of the Democratic Party in Texas in direct violation of the U.S. Constitution. The decision was announced on April 3, 1944.

In Congress, one lone black man represented all of the black people in the United States.

He was William L. Dawson, Democrat of Chicago.

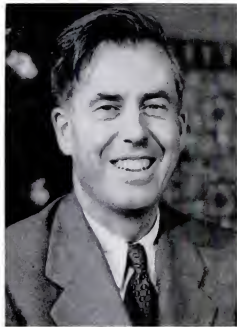
FOR NEARLY three decades following George White's dramatic farewell to Congress in 1901, there had been no black voice in Congress to speak in behalf of 10 per cent of the nation. In 1928 the Republican machine of William Hale Thompson sent Oscar DePriest from Chicago's expanding black 1st Congressional District. DePriest came in the twilight of national Republican power and prestige and, though he hung on until 1934, he was defeated by Arthur Mitchell, a one-time Booker T. Washington messenger boy, who had been sent to Chicago by Jim Farley to get the seat for the Democrats.

Dawson had run twice for Congress, once in 1928 and again in 1938, on the Republican ticket and both times was defeated—in 1928 by Congressman Madden, the white incumbent, and in 1938 by Mitchell. In 1939 Dawson switched to the Democratic Party, became the ward committeeman of the 2nd Ward, and by 1942 persuaded Mitchell to retire from active political life. He had been in Congress one term when the 1944 Democratic Convention came to Chicago.

Dawson, a product of survival in Albany, Ga., had come to Congress after 20 years of climbing the political ladder rung by rung. Though new in Congress, he was old in politics. To him, it was both a profession and a religion. He knew the rules of the game and played by them, and he remembered his grandmother in Georgia who had counseled him as he grew into young manhood that to stay alive he must keep his mouth shut, his eyes open and his thoughts to himself.

As the 1944 Democratic Convention approached, Dawson was in a crucial position.

The Republican Party, gleeful at the obvious signs of stress within the Democratic ranks, met in Chicago in June 1944. While repudiating their liberal candidate of four years earlier, Wendell Willkie, and nominating New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey, they threw a monkey wrench into the Democratic machinery by coming up with a strongly-worded platform which dealt in specifics with the issues close to the hearts of blacks across the land.



Fearing that the ailing Franklin D. Roosevelt (top, opposite page) would not live to complete his fourth term as President, many observers supported the vice presidential candidacy of Harry S. Truman, shown (left) with his daughter, Margaret, and Rep. Dawson. Before Truman entered the vice presidential picture, James Byrnes (above left) and Henry Wallace (above right), two political opposites, were prominently mentioned for the No. 2 spot. Roosevelt favored Byrnes, while many others, including blacks, preferred Wallace. When Roosevelt died in April 1945 at age 63, Dawson said, "The king is dead. Long live Harry Truman!"



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Usually projecting an image of reticence and immovable sobriety, Dawson (above) was also capable of "breaking up" his colleagues with barbed jokes. At right, he confers with Rep. Sam Rayburn (D-Tex.), who was mentioned as possible 1944 vice presidential candidate. Opposite page, past mayor of Chicago, Ed Kelly (above) played prominent role in devising defeat of Byrnes. Below, Dawson and the future mayor of Chicago, Richard Daley, confer.





# "A Southerner's Southerner like Jimmy Byrnes would be acceptable."



## Dawson Continued

They promised a congressional inquiry into racial discrimination and segregation in the armed forces. They pledged the establishment of a federal practices commission. They promised that the payment of any poll tax should not be a condition of voting in any Federal election, and they indicated that the Republican Party favored legislation against lynching, pledging their "sincere efforts in behalf of its early enactment."

For the first time in over a decade, the black vote was not in the Democratic pocket. Robert Hannegan, who was chairman of the Democratic National Committee and well aware of the situation, had his hands full. The Texas Democratic Party had split down the middle, with New Dealers and anti-New Deal regulars coming to the convention and each seeking to be seated. In an effort to head off the South Carolina Progressive Democrats, Hannegan called the leaders to Washington to meet with him the week before the convention in an effort to effect a compromise. He failed. They came on to Chicago.

That same week President Roosevelt sent for Congressman Dawson. The latter took Crystal Bird Fauset of Philadelphia, a member of the staff of the Democratic National Committee, with him to the meeting at the White House. The issues were (1) the party platform, (2) problems facing blacks in the military and (3) other strategies to keep blacks from bolting the party. Heading the list was the issue of the vice presidential candidate. Who the Democratic Party would choose to be Franklin Delano Roosevelt's fourth term running mate was, in Dawson's view, the most critical issue.

Following the meeting with Roosevelt, Dawson said, "The President appears in very good health . . ." but the unspoken awareness that the man who was elected Vice President would, in all likelihood succeed to the Presidency was uppermost in the minds of most people, including Dawson.

Dawson was staunchly behind Vice President Wallace for the nomination. But he had gathered inferences in the meeting with Roosevelt that led him to the conclusion that Roosevelt was backing the candidacy of James Byrnes, the former Supreme Court associate justice currently serving Roosevelt as director of war mobilization—a role which led him to be dubbed, "Assistant President."

While some talk circulating in Washington pointed to Sam Rayburn as the Roosevelt choice, the feeling was that Rayburn had been too forceful in pushing New Deal legislation and that the South would only be pacified by a man more in tune with its conservative stance. A Southerner's Southerner like Jimmy Byrnes would be acceptable.

Dawson, when pushed, had agreed that he would stand by the decision of the Illinois

delegation, but only if the candidate could be made acceptable to the black voter.

**W**ILLIAM J. Thompkins, director of the National Colored Democrats Association, sent out a call for members to caucus in the headquarters of Congressman Dawson on July 18 to draft and adopt resolutions and amendments for presentation at the National Convention. The delegates and alternates who met in Dawson's State Street offices were also unanimous in their support of Wallace.

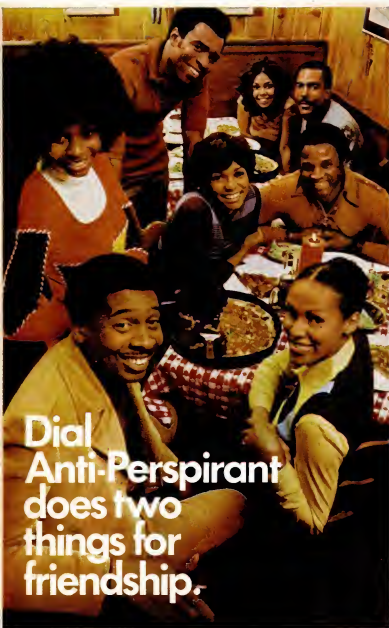
So while blacks and labor were united on Wallace, he nevertheless was slated for defeat at the outset. Roosevelt was determined to dump Wallace. This, in spite of a letter which stated that if he (Roosevelt) were a delegate, he would cast his vote for Wallace. Roosevelt wanted James Byrnes as his running mate. He liked and trusted Byrnes. He felt that he needed him, and that if he had Byrnes on the ticket the running feud with the South would be at an end. Roosevelt wanted peace. He was tired. And in spite of the black voters' aversion to Byrnes he was determined to have him. He argued that the record of the New Deal was good enough to keep black voters in the Democratic fold. Although Dawson and other advisers had assured him that there was great dissatisfaction in the black wards and precincts and that the Republicans would capitalize on it, Roosevelt was unconvinced.

The advice and counsel of Mayor Ed Kelly who controlled the powerful Illinois delegation was sought by Roosevelt through Hannegan. Could Kelly deliver Illinois? He could, with the Black Belt in his corner. He couldn't without it. Southern Illinois was notorious for its conservatism and anti-New Deal sentiment. Dawson controlled the Black Belt. If Dawson said he'd deliver, he would. Dawson had indicated to Kelly that Byrnes was not acceptable to the black voter, but Kelly wanted documentation. So Dawson's staff and the black delegates worked far into that Monday night preparing a documented record of Byrnes' anti-black and anti-civil rights speeches, and actions. Dawson gave this evidence to Kelly on Tuesday morning. Not giving up the fight to get what Roosevelt wanted, Kelly pushed further. Would Dawson talk to Byrnes personally? Kelly urged Dawson to "meet with him, then give me your personal opinion whether you can go with him. Forget the others," the mayor added.

Kelly and Dawson had great rapport and respect for each other. Kelly had been Dawson's good friend and sponsor. Dawson owed him his position in the Democratic Party. Kelly's support had kept him viable as a Republican alderman in a Democratic administration. Dawson could not refuse Ed Kelly's request. He would meet with Byrnes.

A private meeting was set for the Blackstone Hotel, across the street from the Stevens (now





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After Dawson had fought the good fight and defeated Byrnes' 1944 vice presidential bid, he and Truman, as shown above, became friends following the latter's ascendancy to the presidency. Dawson's efforts to stop Byrnes' bid indirectly put Truman in the White House.

#### **Dawson Continued**

Conrad Hilton) Hotel where all of the convention activity was centered. There in the Democratic headquarters suite, Dawson met James Byrnes, the man who wanted to be Vice President of the United States. The two men were left alone. After three hours behind closed doors, the two emerged. Dawson turned to Byrnes and looking directly at him, said, "Mr. Justice, you cannot be my candidate." He turned to the waiting mayor of Chicago and said, "He cannot be my candidate." Then he walked, limping slightly, out of the suite, and it was done.

**T**HE BOOM for Byrnes was nipped in the bud. A few hours later after conferring by telephone with Roosevelt, Byrnes let it be known that by the President's request he was withdrawing from the race.

Later, Walter White wrote, "Whatever the future political history of the American and the Negro may be, the 1944 Democratic convention marks the coming of age politically of the Negro when the carefully built up boom for James Byrnes collapsed almost simultaneously with its launching.

"Organized labor's coolness toward Byrnes did not help his cause. But the decisive factor in his rejection as running mate to President Roosevelt was the Negro."

The 1944 Democratic National Convention was just beginning. But the biggest battle for black people had been fought and won without ever reaching the floor.

In April 1945, as Dawson stood on a ladder pruning a tree in his mother-in-law's yard in Northwest Washington, word reached him of President Roosevelt's death. Quietly, he continued his pruning, pausing only long enough to say, "The king is dead. Long live Harry Truman!"



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# Sanford and Son

Redd Foxx and Demond Wilson wake up TV's jaded audience

IT CERTAINLY is not *Julia*. Nor, on the other hand, is it *Amos and Andy*. And, in the current vernacular applied to some motion picture and television shows making the rounds, it definitely is not *Superspade*. What it is, actually, is something all its own: *Sanford and Son*, one of the brightest half-hours to grace the TV tube, one which brings a high point to the career of one of the nation's veteran but underrated entertainers, Redd Foxx.

Bowing in at the middle of the television season, *Sanford and Son* climbed immediately into the Top 20 ratings with its first six shows, three of which were among the top 10 in audience size. When the show debuted on NBC's Friday night schedule in January, some portions of the opening episode seemed a little weak, and many of Foxx's longtime fans looked in vain for the old stand-up, knock-'em-dead, razor-tongued comedian they had grown accustomed to. In his stead was a creaking old man: selfish, prejudiced, bumbling and almost never delivering a laugh-line in the sophisticated Foxx style. As that show and others have rolled on, however, it has become increasingly apparent that Fred Sanford of *Sanford and Son* is not the old Redd Foxx, and that Foxx is innately a shrewd enough actor to have made the distinction. "He's basically a very good actor," producer Aaron Ruben says of Foxx. "He came up with that old man character. Nobody told him to walk like that."

Before the first episode, too, some industry people wondered how well the little-known Demond Wilson would do as the son in *Sanford and Son*. It did not take long into the first show to find out. He is excellent.

The series, based on an English TV series, *Stepfather and Son*, is the continuing story of two junkmen who are father and son. There's a loving but constantly feuding relationship. The son has his life before him and would like to get away from the junkyard that is both place of employment (and where, incidentally, he seems to be doing all the work) and his home. His father is a grasping old faker, quick to grab a buck without questioning its honest-



**Junk dealers** Fred Sanford and his son Lamont have become weekly visitors via television in millions of American homes. In the few months since the *Sanford and Son* series began, it has brought to light a histrionic new side of the comic talent of Redd Foxx (l. and opposite page) and thrust to fame actor Demond Wilson.





**Archie Moore**, former heavyweight boxing champion and an old friend of Redd Foxx, drops in to visit with comedian during a break in shooting. Between shooting seasons, Foxx and his TV son Demond Wilson are taking their *Sanford and Son* act to top night clubs across the country. Foxx is famed as a stand-up comedian for his acerbic wit.

**Studio receiver** monitors a scene between Redd Foxx and Slappy White who has a recurring part in the series. Within the first six weeks of the program, the show broke into the coveted top-20 ratings and shortly thereafter edged its way into the even more prestigious top-ten behind *All in the Family*. Both are based on successful English TV series.



## Sanford and Son

ty, and quick to feign a heart attack if things are not going his way. ("You hear that, Elizabeth? I'll be coming to join you, honey," is the lament he throws heavenward to his long-dead wife as he elaps a hand to his chest.) The old man does not want to leave the junkyard, and most of all, he does not want his son to leave.

Although the Sanfords complain and nag each other and the son treats the father with irreverence, there is nevertheless the understanding of a deep and abiding love between the two.

**T**HE plots that evolve from this very special kind of father-son relationship are slight. In one, the son brings home an expensive heirloom to take to an auction, only to have his father get involved in the bidding and spoil a fantastic profit. In another episode, both

men go for chest X-rays and first one, then the other, comes to believe he is incurably ill. In yet another, the father refuses to sleep in the house when the son brings home two coffins for resale, and soon the old man's fears and superstitions become those of the braggadocious son. But such is the stuff situation comedies are made of, and one can hardly fault *Sanford and Son* for having no more depth than that other hit of the current season, *All in the Family*. Indeed, *Sanford and Son* ranks next to *All in the Family* among young adult viewers. Both shows are the brainchildren of Norman Lear and Bud Yorkin, and are based on British shows.

So far, *Sanford and Son* has been using doctored scripts from London, but Rubens says he would "like to eventually get our own style from here."

Foxx was sought out for the title role because he was remembered for his performance in the movie *Cotton Comes to Harlem*, in which he played a junk dealer. Young Wilson had been a performer in an *All in the Family* episode and the producers had liked him. Yet, there were reservations about both men. Despite his film role and his great comedy acts, could Foxx, it was wondered, do the kind of sustained acting called for in a television series? Redd settled that question on the first script when he went through twelve straight minutes during one scene. For the role of the junior Sanford, it was thought another comedian might be a good bet. Wilson was not a comic, but he has proven to be an actor with a fine sense of comedy; his facial expressions and timing play beautifully off Foxx.

Four days after the two gave the script its first reading in Las Vegas, where Foxx was appearing, they were in Hollywood doing it before the *All in the Family* cast. It went so well that a visiting NBC vice president from New York was summoned from lunch to see their performance. He ordered that a pilot film be made.

**W**HEN Foxx happened to mention that his real name was John Sanford, *Steptoe and Son* became *Sanford and Son*. On the show, however, Foxx uses the first name Fred in honor of a deceased brother. For the role of the son, Foxx chose the first name Lamont, after an old St. Louis buddy. About half-way into the show's first season, Foxx declared: "I think I'm still trying to find Fred Sanford. I have a lot of him already, but I'm still searching. Eight weeks ain't long to create a human, not being the Lord. Time will tell what his full character is."

Wilson likewise is working on the Lamont Sanford characterization. "I've done enough of the character at this point so I can call upon him to do the things that are required of him," Wilson says, "but I haven't realized his full potential yet." For a sustained role such as this, he says "I begin to explore the character, to deal with him in the way I deal with myself. I've got a lot of the things he does down, but not to the point of a Gomer Pyle or Andy Griffith. Every week Redd and I find new stuff



**Feigned heart attacks** (top photo) are a favorite weapon Fred uses to keep son Lamont in line. Above, Fred fakes a spell of amnesia to gain Lamont's sympathy.

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Friendly police played by Hal Williams (L) and Noum Philk are regulars in the series. In center photo, Fox glances at huteback girl played by Indira Danks. At far right, he interferes with son's marriage to actress Carol Speed.



Large set for Sanford and Son affords freedom of movement from house to junk-laden yard. Fox and Wilson have "come to know each other," says Fox, and the characters they play just grew together.

## Sanford and Son Continued

to do in terms of the characters, not funny stuff, but things about the two men."

Wilson and Fox had never met before they were called in on the TV idea, and getting to know each other has helped their subsequent performances. "When we did the pilot, we had never worked together, so Redd didn't know my timing and I didn't know his," Wilson explains. To this, Fox adds: "Now we do know each other, and when you dig a cat, it's real. You can see the warmth in our later shows." As a matter of fact, there was a feeling among viewers that the son was too harsh with the father on the first show or two. Wilson has now rounded off the sharp edges.

Georgia-born Demond Wilson started his acting career at the age of four when he appeared in a Broadway production of *Green Pastures* with William Marshall. Three years later he made his television debut on *The Children's Hour*. At 12 he was tap dancing on the stage of Harlem's Apollo Theater and later studied acting at the American Community Theater and at Hunter College. Drafted by the Army, he saw service in Vietnam and was





**Exulting** over show's success, executive producer Bud Yorkin chats with his stars after a day's shooting. Below, Fox's Cadillac, parked at the artists' entrance to NBC-TV studios in Burbank, Calif., is flanked by Flip Wilson's Rolls-Royce, "Killer," and by Demond Wilson's Fiat.

wounded, but today he declines to discuss his war experiences. His stage work since then includes the national company of *The Boys in the Band* and *Ceremonies in Dark Old Men*. He has done television soap operas and *Mission: Impossible* as well as two movies, *Dealing* and *The Organization*.

Wilson is not quick to rattle off his list of credits but nevertheless declares: "I'm proud of all the things I've done." He was between engagements when the *Sanford and Son* proposal came. As he told Fox while waiting to get the word on whether the show was to be aired or not: "I'm tired of eating these baloney sandwiches." Apparently he is not eating baloney sandwiches now. His weight has increased from 149 to 156 pounds. Now, with a slice of his own television show, Wilson says: "For me, it's like graduating from school. It's hard knocking around, especially if you think you're talented and not getting the breaks."

**R**EDD FOX has had almost all the breaks, good and bad. The bad ones were when he was working the streets of New York with a washboard band as a kid, and later when





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Outside his home, Fox, a dog fancier, feeds his huge St. Bernard, Faint, while top comedians Flip Wilson and George Kirby trade quips. All have own TV shows.

### Sanford and Son *Continued*

he was sleeping on rooftops and in doorways and riding in the back of trucks as he tried to find a living in show business. But he has sold over 10 million comedy records, done his vaudeville and night club stints and had spent the last year and a half in a well-paying spot at the International Hotel in Las Vegas. (Success has given Fox his own weight problem: Unlike Wilson, he is trying to carve his way down to 175 pounds from a high of 202.)

Despite all the memories of gin mills and multiple-shows-a-day in theaters, Fox says of the eight-hours-a-day, five-days-a-week filming of *Sanford and Son*: "I ain't worked eight hours a day in my life. The last time I tried it was at Rose's Dresses in New York. I worked sixteen hours and quit. They still owe me money."

Fox made the latter comment over a spartan lunch of soup and beef patty in the Hungry Peacock restaurant at NBC's Burbank studios between rehearsals. A few minutes later, he was back to his grind, playing a bed-ridden hospital patient. While the cameras were getting set up, the hard-working Fox closed his eyes and lay very quiet. After a while, somebody woke him up for his lines.



Dune buggy, ornamented and luxury-equipped, is a favorite vehicle for rides that Fox likes to take with his wife Jean around their home in Las Vegas, Nev.

# A Bacardi party to go.





From her office in Harrisburg, Mrs. C. DeLores Tucker (above and opposite page), secretary of state of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, heads the Department of State, which regulates the business of a million corporations and individuals and affects the lives of almost everyone in Pennsylvania. At right, she peruses and signs state documents while riding in her official car.





# THE LADY TO SEE IN PENNSYLVANIA

*To drive a car,  
build a business  
or pull teeth, you  
need a license  
from Mrs. Tucker*

**I**F YOU walk through the long, marble corridors and visit the high-ceilinged old offices of the Pennsylvania State Capitol in Harrisburg, you may get the feeling, which many visitors have expressed, that there is a spirit of administrative hustle and of determination to get good things done that is in contrast to the doldrum which some old-timers can remember. Much of this new verve can be ascribed to the commitment brought to the capital by the state's new chief administrator, Secretary of the Commonwealth C. DeLores Tucker.

Gov. Milton J. Shapp, with whom Mrs. Tucker took office in January of last year, calls her "the sparkplug of my administration." One of Mrs. Tucker's close political allies, Attorney Paul Waters, insists that "the whole tenor of the state government has changed for the better for black people since she came into office." Perhaps best summing up how the secretary's associates feel is the statement of Mrs. Ann Quamm, Mrs. Tucker's hard-working administrative assistant, who observes merely that "She's a woman who's got it all together."

Mrs. Tucker's position is one of the most powerful held by any black person operating on a state level, and she uses every ounce of that power. Her influence is increased because not only is she the third highest ranking government official in the state—after the governor and the lieutenant governor—but she also has a close political relationship with Gov. Shapp. She has been one of his supporters since he first ran for public office back in 1966.

When she came into office in 1971, Mrs. Tucker, who had her own public relations firm in Philadelphia, became the second woman and first black ever named to a cabinet post in Pennsylvania. "In the beginning," she says with a smile, "I still didn't believe it was true—not until I walked out and saw the number 3 license plate on my car." She adds, however: "For those who think we (blacks) have come so far, you must remember that back in 1875 we had one lieutenant governor, one secretary of state and one senator. That's better than what we have now—two secretaries of state (Richard Austin of Michigan is the other) and one senator."

One of the persons who is most appreciative of Mrs. Tucker's work is Gov. Shapp. "Before she came into office, the job of Secretary of the Commonwealth was a nonentity," he says. "She has thrown out a lot of the dead wood and made a major department out of it.



BY PETER BAILEY

**MRS. TUCKER** *Continued*

It now renders a much greater service to our people."

In other words, the powers were there but no one else had used them. This was a great opportunity for a coolly efficient and energetic administrator such as Mrs. Tucker and she set out to see just exactly what she had gotten hold of. What she found was that the Secretary of the Commonwealth has powers that affect the lives of most of Pennsylvania's nearly 12 million people. For instance, the state Constitution provides that she shall be a member of the Board of Pardons, and by sta-

tutory provisions she is chairman of the State Employees Retirement Board, a member of the Board of Property, a member of the Board of Finance and Revenue (which decides how state money is to be deposited and invested), a member of the State Athletic Commission, keeper of the Great Seal of the State, Custodian of the laws and resolutions passed by the General Assembly, and the custodian of all proclamations issued by the Governor. Nearly all the official transactions of the Governor pass through her hands. She must keep a record of all death warrants, respites, par-

*Her office has powers which no one had used*



**Growing close** to obtain the autograph of the third highest ranking official in the state, elementary school pupils from Paoli, Pa., enjoy a high point of their tour of the State Capitol. At right, Mrs. Tucker confers with Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp on arrangements for the forthcoming Democratic National Convention in Miami Beach.



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Sidewalk conference results when Mrs. Tucker, vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Democratic Party, happens to meet Bill Chrisby, Democratic Party chairman of Chester County, outside her office.

## MRS. TUCKER *Continued*

dons, remittances of fines and forfeitures, and commutations of sentences. She has complete responsibility for registering and keeping records on all the more than 500,000 corporations in Pennsylvania. Nineteen various occupations and professions—from barbers and undertakers to doctors and engineers (some 495,000 persons in all)—are licensed and regulated by her department. Besides all this, she conducts the swearing-in of elected and appointed officials and acts as chief protocol officer of the state.

Mrs. Tucker's responsibilities are increased even more by the fact that she is black. "Many black people seem to regard her as their governor," says Mrs. Quann. Since January, Mrs. Tucker has had requests for some 125 speaking engagements, more than half of which she accepted. She is very involved in black groups in the state. She is vice-president of the Pennsylvania NAACP and vice-chairman of the Pennsylvania Negro Democratic Committee (PNDC), which was organized in 1965 to get more blacks into important positions.

Her list of organizational responsibilities seems endless. She is the first black vice chairman of the Pennsylvania Democratic State Committee and is a member of both the policy council of the National Democratic Committee and the arrangements committee for the 1972 National Democratic Convention.

All of these activities require a person who can get things together, and the tall, talented Mrs. Tucker fits that bill to a T. Her motto could well be "Always Be Prepared." When speaking with her one is immediately aware that here is a woman who knows exactly what she wants to do, and then quietly and efficiently gets it done. One of her major projects is to help get more blacks employed in the state government. Working closely with Gov. Shapp, whom she praises as a man "who has demonstrated his concern for all people," she and members of PNDC combed the state to find blacks qualified for top positions. As fast as they found them, they were recommended to the Governor for the positions. And though



PNDC wasn't successful in all cases it was successful enough that the number of blacks in cabinet and sub-cabinet positions has climbed from one in pre-Shapp days to 12 today, and blacks are now on the boards of more than half of the state's 19 occupational and professional boards. Previously there was only one. The policy has had its effects all the way down. Mrs. Tucker says that of 2400 people hired by the state since January 1971, some 300 have been black.

Another example of Mrs. Tucker's knack to move forcefully when the situation requires it is in her election to the second most important Democratic Party position in the third largest state in the country. As she tells it, "I didn't really seek the vice-chairmanship of the party but Gov. Shapp asked me to run. After consulting with my husband I told the Governor that my name could be submitted but that I wouldn't actively campaign for the post. Well, on the night of the voting I received a call from the Governor telling me that my chances were good but that I simply must come down to Harrisburg to address the delegates. My opponent was a white woman, and the interesting thing is that I was the only one in the running who was being challenged. I went down there, addressed the gathering and got elected."

What she doesn't say is that she didn't just address the gathering. From all reports, she swept them off their feet. In her preacher-like voice, which was trained by her father (the Rev. Whitfield Nottage, pastor of the Ebenezer Community Tabernacle in Philadelphia), she spoke of the need for the Democratic Party to be a progressive force in state and national politics. The audience was convinced.

Mrs. Tucker, who is a political realist, is very much aware that her power rests on support from Pennsylvania's black community as well as on her relationship with Gov. Shapp. She keeps in good order her line to her black power base. She answers all mail she receives and participates in fund-raising drives for national as well as local black politicians. She once helped raise some \$20,000 for Carl Stokes when he was desperately in need of funds. She speaks to black



Swearing-in by Mrs. Tucker completes appointment of Paul Waters as the first black member of the three-member Environmental Hearing Board. Witnesses are Mrs. Waters and Rev. LeRoy Rattrick.

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# MRS. TUCKER *Continued*

groups, especially young people, telling them that "Black is beautiful. Yes. But you also have to add another 'B,' and that is for 'brains.' Don't just stand on corners saying 'Right on' unless you are going right on to your English classes, your history classes, your science classes."

Political considerations are not, of course, the only reasons that Mrs. Tucker maintains close ties in the black community. Though born and raised in Philadelphia, she lived in Baltimore and remembers being told as a little girl that she couldn't sit down and eat at lunch counters. She insists that blacks who "have achieved" must remember that their security is never assured as long as the majority of black people are in the bottom of the heap.

Mrs. Tucker has had years of involvement in the civil rights movement, having marched in the Selma to Montgomery March in 1965.

All this activity, according to Mrs. Tucker, has not harmed or hindered her family life. She has been married for 21 years to William L. Tucker, a Philadelphia real estate executive. They have no children. In addition to the family home in Philadelphia, she maintains an apartment in Harrisburg. The cities are close enough together to allow the Tuckers to travel between them rapidly and often by train. Her busy schedule relaxes enough to let her enjoy reading, traveling and good music.



Receiving reports from key staff members, Mrs. Tucker is flanked by her Deputy Secretaries of the Commonwealth, Barton Fields (4th from L.) and Ronald Pettine. At right, she signs Gov. Shapp's proclamations declaring Sickle Cell Anemia Week and Youth Voter Registration Month as Marie Besick of her staff looks on.



*Continued on Page 69*

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Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D., Me.) chats (top photo) with Mrs. Tucker and her husband, William L. Tucker, at a party. Later the Tuckers relax after dinner with a friend, John White (c.), and Mrs. Tucker's sister, Mrs. Grace Nicholas.

#### MRS. TUCKER *Continued*

One gets the impression, despite mild protestations to the contrary, that Mrs. Tucker loves the intrigue of politics and elections. And she bases her political decisions on well-thought-out analyses. Though she likes both Sen. George McGovern and Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, she threw her support for the Presidential nomination to Senator Muskie "because he's a good man and most importantly, I thought he could beat Nixon and that was most crucial." She has little use for the position that one must vote for symbolic reasons. In situations where blacks are organized and have a chance to win, she supports them fully. But she says: "Blacks must not dissipate their human and financial resources in fruitless political exercise. In order for us to gain maximum political strength and office, we must begin at the committee level and run candidates at the committee level, thoroughly controlling our wards. And from this position of strength, we can begin to elect mayors, county leaders and governors."

Mrs. Tucker apparently believes in working within the system, but from a carefully considered position. As one brother put it, "If you have decided that the best way for us to progress is to work within the system in order to change it, then you had better study how she does it—'cause she does it as well or better than any black person doing it today." That's what Mrs. Tucker would call a compliment.

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**8:22**

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**9:14**

Look at that clock! You can't believe it. Could feminine odor be starting so soon?

**9:14**

Just one Norforms can stop odor up to 10 full hours. They're safely, easily inserted, too.

**11:07**

Work and worry: You begin to suspect sprays may stop external odor but not the odor that starts internally.

**11:07**

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**12:01**

Bad news and new worry: You just heard your spray may have hexachlorophene.

**12:03**

Put the spray away. Now... where can I buy Norforms?



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# Rating th

In tests by two of Europe's leading motor magazines, steel-belted

**1969:** Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 <sup>ST</sup>	<b>Uniroyal 180</b>	(Steel)
2 <sup>ND</sup>	Michelin XAS	(Steel)
3 <sup>RD</sup>	Phoenix Sen.	(Fabric)
4 <sup>TH</sup>	Metzeler Monza	(Fabric)
5 <sup>TH</sup>	Fulda P 23	(Fabric)

*These tests included: handling on curves, steering exactness on a zig-zag slalom course, braking distance and behavior, acceleration and skid resistance on a wet circular track, comfort and wear. In addition, Auto Motor und*

**1970:** Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 <sup>ST</sup>	<b>Uniroyal 180</b>	(Steel)
2 <sup>ND</sup>	Pirelli CN 36	(Steel)
3 <sup>RD</sup>	Michelin zX	(Steel)
4 <sup>TH</sup>	Kleber V10	(Fabric)
5 <sup>TH</sup>	Semperit	(Fabric)
6 <sup>TH</sup>	Dunlop SP 68	(Fabric)

*Sport included a test for tire noise in '69, winter suit-*

Although radial tires are big news in the U.S. today, they have been widely used in Europe—and increasingly preferred—for the past fifteen years.

To a European motorist, the question today is not whether to get a radial, but what kind of a radial to get.

To help answer that question, two of Europe's leading motoring magazines—"Auto Motor und Sport" and "Auto Zeitung"—conducted exhaustive track tests of the most famous European radial tires. (Test criteria are described above.)

The results show that steel-belted radials as a group received higher over-all ratings than fabric-belted radials, win-

ning both first and second places in 1969, 1970 and 1971. They did not, of course, win in every test category.

The steel-belted radial tires have a built-in advantage which was not included in these tests—substantially greater protection against cuts and punctures—because the belt under the tread are made of steel wire. (Cuts are the major cause of tire failure, by the way.)

**Uniroyal steel-belted radials  
are now available in the U.S.**

We are pleased to be able to tell you that the Uniroyal 180 steel-belted radial—which won first place overall in three



# e radials.

**Radial tires received higher overall ratings than fabric-belted radials.**

## 1971: Auto Motor und Sport Magazine

1 <sup>ST</sup>	Metzeler Monza (Steel)
2 <sup>ND</sup>	Conti TS 771 (Steel)
3 <sup>RD</sup>	Uniroyal 180 (Steel)
4 <sup>TH</sup>	Phoenix Sen. (Fabric)
5 <sup>TH</sup>	Fulda P 25 Rib (Fabric)
6 <sup>TH</sup>	Goodyear G800 (Fabric)

*ability in '70 and aquaplaning tendency in '71.*

ut of four of the above series of tests—is now available in this country in sizes to fit most of the popular European cars. In addition, Uniroyal is now making a steel-belted radial specially designed for American cars, called the Uniroyal eta 40M. This tire is being produced in the United States. Other companies are beginning to offer you steel-belted radials. But bear in mind that the steel-belted radial is a more difficult tire to make because steel is a more difficult material to work with.

Uniroyal has made more than 20 million steel-belted radials over the past 12 years, and knows how to make them properly.

In fact, there are only two tire companies in the world that have this much experience in making steel-belted radials—Michelin and Uniroyal.

**When you go to buy a steel-belted radial, don't let them sell you just a radial tire or a steel-belted tire. It's not the same thing.**

Here is how to tell what you're getting. If the dealer tells you it's a "radial tire", you can be pretty sure it's a fabric-belted radial. If he tells you it's a steel tire, the chances are it's a steel-belted radial construction. (That is, a conventional tire, without the performance advantages of a radial.) If it's a steel-belted radial, you can bet your boots he's going to let you know it!



## 1971: Auto Zeitung Magazine

1 <sup>ST</sup>	Uniroyal 180 (Steel)
2 <sup>ND</sup>	Michelin zX (Steel)
3 <sup>RD</sup>	Pirelli CF 67 (Fabric)
4 <sup>TH</sup>	Conti TS 771 (Steel)
5 <sup>TH</sup>	Kleber V 10 (Fabric)
6 <sup>TH</sup>	Conti TT 714 (Fabric)
6 <sup>TH</sup>	Fulda P 25 Rib (Fabric)
8 <sup>TH</sup>	Dunlop Sp 57F (Fabric)
9 <sup>TH</sup>	Phoenix P 110 Ti (Fabric)
10 <sup>TH</sup>	Bridgestone (Fabric)
10 <sup>TH</sup>	Metzeler Monza (Steel)
12 <sup>TH</sup>	Metzeler Monza (Fabric)
13 <sup>TH</sup>	Goodyear G800 (Fabric)

Would you like to know the name of a dealer in your locality where you can get Uniroyal steel-belted radials? Telephone (800)-243-6000 anytime, free of charge. In Conn., call 1-(800)-882-6500.

Would you like to get a complete and unabridged English translation of the reports of all four of the radial tire tests described above? Send 25c to Dept. GP, Uniroyal, Oxford, Connecticut 06749. When you're finished reading this series of test reports, you'll know what to look for in radial tires.

# CORPORATE PILOTING: A

Two aviators see flying for business



**Black pilots** Solomon H. Cates Jr. (above and right) and Joseph E. Arnstead (opposite page) have found an open field in corporate flying at Xerox Corp. Above, at suburban New York City airport, Cates stands by as a King-Air Turbo-prop is washed before flight to Xerox headquarters in Rochester, N. Y. At right, co-pilot Cates is shown in cockpit with Flight Captain Bill Fleig prior to take-off as Xerox executives peruse newspapers and talk.





# NEW TRIP FOR BLACKS

executives as a possible big breakthrough

**S**OLOMON H. Cates Jr. was a pilot with Trans World Airlines. Joseph E. Armstead was a pilot with United Airlines. But airline profits started getting thin a couple of years ago and companies began belt-tightening and laying off pilots. Cates and Armstead found themselves on the outside looking in.

For a while they thought they'd have to go back to their old jobs of teaching student flyers, but then they found a promising field for black pilots—corporate flying.

The two are now pilots with the giant Xerox Corp. of Rochester, N. Y. Both men are responsible for flying that company's executives around the country to meetings, conferences, and employee recruitment drives. Cates, who was a biochemist before finally getting into flying, co-pilots a Sabreliner, one of Xerox's three jets. Armstead, a Vietnam veteran with 101 combat missions, is captain of a King-Air turbo-prop, a five-passenger craft.

As corporate pilots, Cates and Armstead are part of a minuscule minority—blacks being about one-tenth of one per cent of corporate pilots in the country. The field is, however, considered a good possibility for blacks interested in flying. David Bailey, a former flight instructor at the Marshfield, Mass., aviation school, and a World War II veteran pilot, believes that opportunities for blacks in corporate flying will be tremendous in the next five years. He points out that there are about 24,000 corporate aircraft and that some 1,000 of these are pure jets. And many of the current corporate pilots are World War II vets.

"Right now, there is a search for qualified black pilots," explains Armstead. The problem is that there aren't enough of them available.



Armstead examines the instrument panel of Xerox's Gulfstream jet while serving as plane's flight engineer. He is also a co-pilot of the company's Sabreliner jet and was promoted recently to captain of its King-Air turbo-prop. The company has two props and three jets. Below, the Gulfstream jet, with Armstead as flight engineer, leaves Long Beach, Calif., on a return trip to Rochester, N. Y.





**Flight Engineer Armstead** inspects a jet engine of the Gulfstream jet (above) to make sure it is functioning properly. At right, he checks aircraft's landing gear. Below, the 30-year-old aviator beads for his seat in plane's cockpit where he will make final check on instruments before return flight to New York.



## **CORPORATE PILOTING** *Continued*

"It's all part of the corporate push to hire more blacks into visible positions in their companies."

"There is definitely a place for qualified black pilots in the corporate world," Cates says. "In fact, there's a future for blacks in flying, period. It is the one area where race counts less than your ability to do the job. A person who flies in your plane is literally putting his life into your hands and he is concerned only as to whether or not you can fly that plane."

Bailey is more explicit: "The greatest opportunity for black pilots lies in the area of corporate piloting. I say this for two reasons, one being that the corporations don't have to worry about what their customers say. This is important. I know that some of the commercial airlines were always worried about their customers' attitudes in regards to flying with a black pilot. But all the corporations want to know is if the man is a good, safe, reliable pilot. The second reason is that, in corporate flying, the seniority system, which is a big obstacle to blacks in commercial flying, does not play a major role in hiring. Ability is what counts most."

Both Cates and Armstead look upon corporate flying as a good outlet for blacks getting into professional piloting, stressing that it is particularly good for those servicemen who want to fly in civilian life but who can't get on one of the commercial airlines. Of course, with the airlines in a cut-back mood, the competition for corporate jobs has become intense.



**Waiting** for executive passengers (top photo), Cates talks with a ground crewman. Above, the 28-year-old pilot and Flight Captain Bill Fleig listen as secretary Carol Washb gives them their flight schedule. At left, Cates and Fleig head for their King-Air turbo-prop for flight to Rochester. Cates, who co-pilots the King-Air craft, was promoted recently to co-pilot of Xerox's Sabreliner jet.

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# A gem in Germantown.

Philadelphia housewife Rosalee Washington's home.



"Oh, it was a real plain Jane house when we moved in four years ago," mused the pretty widow who won an

award at high school graduation for "Best-dressed, best-shaped."

"But, little by little, we'd do things, you know. Like the paneling—three or four sheets at a time."

Opening up the kitchen/dining area, Mrs. Washington noted, was a bigger project. "My younger son, Craig, cut a hole in the wall and then had to relocate the wiring. I put in the window boxes and planted them."

Drawing on her experience in dressmaking and design, Rosalee Washington personally selected the

material for all her draperies, then made them herself. "Well," she explained offhandedly, "I've been making my own clothes since I was twelve."

When her elder son, Spec. 4 Gary Washington, returns from Army duty in Japan, Rosalee hopes to cajole him into service for some upcoming projects:

"I'd like to put in a new living room ceiling, enclose the staircase, maybe do a little more upholstering," she said gaily.

Always a charming hostess, Mrs. Washington is very modest when asked by guests to discuss her work. She says,

quite simply, "I like to design. I like to be different."

Friends see frequent examples of her taste and individuality. One they especially appreciate is Canadian Club, "The Best In The House"® in the Washington family's house.

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In Rochester, Cates has his first go on ice skates while waiting for Xerox executives to complete a business session. Below, he takes pictures of New York City skyline from the terrace of his apartment in West New Jersey.



## CORPORATE PILOTING *Continued*

PRIOR to entering the corporate field in the fall of 1971, Cates and Armstead had been commercial pilots for about a year. The "seniority rule" was the culprit in this instance rather than overt racism, though racism despite Cates' optimism—has played a role in keeping the number of blacks down to about 65 out of a total of 35,000 commercial pilots. About 25 of those blacks were low on the seniority totem pole and got axed when cutting began. Thus, Cates thought he might have to return to teaching advance flight courses at Wilson's Training Center in Kansas and Armstead thought he would have to lecture at Aviation High School in New York, but they heard about the Xerox openings, applied, and were hired.

Both Cates, who has been flying six years, and Armstead, a ten-year veteran, are enthusiastic about their chosen careers. Cates, who is 28 years old and a native of Kansas City, Kan.,



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Building model boats and planes has been a hobby Armstead has enjoyed since he was six years old. In his home in Queens, N. Y., he finishes a craft.

## CORPORATE PILOTING *Continued*

Explains how he got interested in aviation: "I used to live near two airports and always watched the planes coming and going." He wanted to fly so badly that he was willing to do it the hard way: he borrowed \$4,000 to pay for 200 hours of flying lessons, then served as a flight instructor while getting an additional 1,000 hours of lessons. He calls flying "an exciting way to make a living."

Armstead, who is 30 years old, shares this feeling. "I got my first model plane set when I was six years old," he says, "and I've been a flying enthusiast ever since." Armstead, a native of Bedford-Stuyvesant in New York, learned to fly in the Air Force and received the Distinguished Flying Cross for service in Vietnam.

Both pilots encourage young blacks to enter the field, adding the warning that it requires "staying power." They are two men who should know.

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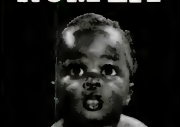
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# FRIAR TIMOTHY'S HOLY



*Guarding sacred treasures and traditions,  
a young Catholic friar from Pittsburgh  
serves his faith in ancient Bethlehem*



# LAND VIGIL



Stationed in Bethlehem where Jesus Christ was born, Brother Timothy Richardson, a Franciscan friar, surveys the city from the roof of the monastery where he lives and from which he goes daily to perform his duties at the Church of the Nativity (L.), which is said to stand at the exact site of Christ's birth.

GENTLY swinging the silver censer of smoking incense, a black man leads a double column of brown-robed Franciscan friars through the Church of the Nativity and down the steps to the grotto below where Jesus was born.

He swings the incense in front of the white marble niche where Christian tradition says the Virgin Mary placed the Christ child in a manger. He then turns to the altar behind him and incenses the silver star that marks the birthspot.

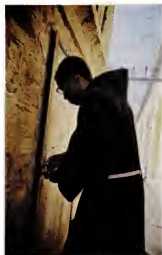
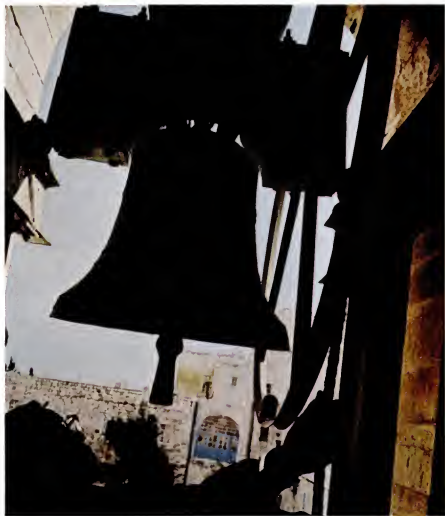
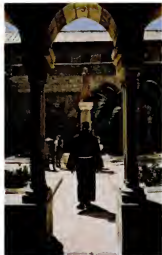
The black man is Brother Timothy Richardson, formerly of Pittsburgh and now of Bethlehem. He is one of 16 friars attached to the Terra Sancta Franciscan Monastery at the Nativity Church. Brother Timothy's duties include leading the noon prayer procession to the grotto each day.

As the only black Christian stationed in the Holy Land, he has become something of an institution in Bethlehem. The Arab children call him *kouri aswad*—the black priest. When he first came to Bethlehem, some of them asked if he were Muhammad Ali's brother.

Some of the local Arab Christians who have been around a long time say he is the only black to have served among the holy sites. "The curious thing," says Timothy, "is that black tourists from America can't figure out what I am. They think I'm a black Jew or black Moslem or a black this or that. Once I told a minister from Pennsylvania that I was a Christian from the states just like him. Well, he lit up, asked to take my picture, and said he could really believe now in Bethlehem, what with a soul brother on the scene."

BROTHER Timothy is an outspoken young man of 29 who looks years younger. Although firmly dedicated to the service of the Roman Catholic church, he will frankly criticize some of the clerical conservatism and ritualism around him. In doing so, he reveals a natural sense of humor and a typically youthful way of questioning the establishment.

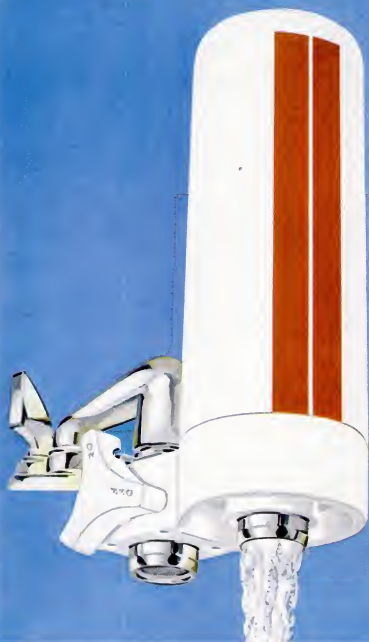
Since July, when he was transferred to Bethlehem, he has served as one of three Franciscan sacristans at the Nativity Church. A sacristan is a church official in charge of the holy objects. In Bethlehem, this position takes on added weight because it involves safeguarding the sensitive status quo. Centuries-spanning disputes between the Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox denominations over rights in the church have led in the past to bickering, mistrust and—on occasion—even bloodshed. To put an end to this, about 120 years ago, several volumes were put together by the three belligerents spelling out in detail the rights and obligations of each sect in the ancient church. This registry of rights has established a sacred status quo that is jealously guarded by the re-



**Procession** of Franciscan friars (upper left) is led by Brother Timothy to the grotto where Christian tradition says Christ was born. After a service, Brother Timothy practices on the church organ before returning to the monastery's interior garden. Above, he inspects the church's famous bells, then (left) locks the door to the bell tower which century-old agreement entrusts to Franciscans.

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**Exploring Bethlehem.** Brother Timothy and Brother Bernard Wood of El Paso, Texas, stop to chat with Arabs near the church. Below, they shop in an Arab market with Brother Quirico Calello of Italy, and (bottom photo) pause to admire clothes displayed outside a shop.



## FRIAR TIMOTHY *Continued*

spective denominational sacristans. And just to make doubly sure that nothing upsets the delicate equilibrium, two Moslem policemen were installed in the church to act as neutral peace-keepers.

The status quo regulates everything from mass schedules and spheres of influence inside the church, to who can clean what and when. Says Brother Timothy: "Frankly, it is ridiculous. Where common sense leaves off, the status quo begins." Whatever his feelings about the house rules, he dutifully carries out his task, protecting the Roman Catholic rights along with fellow sacristans Bernard Wood of El Paso, Texas, and Vitali Gambin of Italy.

**BROTHERS** Timothy and Bernard are the only Americans stationed at the monastery, which was first built out of stone nearly 1,000 years ago by the crusaders. Most of the friars are Italian or Spanish. In day-to-day contact, the language of the one rubs off on the other, and Timothy has thus been able to speak some Italian and Spanish. In addition, he speaks some Arabic, which he studied for six months before coming to the Holy Land.

Brother Timothy is quartered in a high-vaulted room overlooking the Biblical Judean hills and a pleasant garden belonging to the Greek Orthodox monastery next door. "That garden may look peaceful and lovely right now," he says, "but wait until the afternoon when the Greeks turn loose their chickens and turkeys. In the summer, the smell can drive you right up these old walls."

Under the window there is a knee-high stack of American magazines, including *EBONY*. "I like to keep up with the news back home," he says. "There is also a Pontifical Library in Bethlehem where I was surprised to find a good collection of books on black studies."

Beside reading, his hobbies include raising parakeets and taking photographic slides of the Holy Land.

**BROTHER** Timothy says that since coming to the Holy Land, he has never experienced racial discrimination in any form.

"We are not black friars or white friars, just fellow friars," he says.

Brother Timothy was reared on the north side of Pittsburgh. The neighborhood, as well as Oliver High School which he attended, was racially mixed. His friends have been both black and white. He says he doesn't particularly miss a black environment but enjoys the opportunity to meet with black tourists from the U.S.

"Some people really do a double take when they spot me," he says. "I hear such things as, 'look, he's black,' or 'what's that Ethiopian doing here?' Some think I'm from French-speaking Africa and step up talking in French. Man, I can really confuse them by popping out some of the Italian I've picked up. In general, the way people look at me, you'd think I'd just arrived from Mars."

Despite the stares, Brother Timothy says he greatly enjoys the contact with visitors. "Es-



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## 'Visitors feel they can talk openly to me'

pecially the young," he says. "Sometimes I will sit and talk for hours about Vietnam, politics, religion or racism. Maybe because I'm a brother—and not a priest—they seem to feel they can talk more openly with me. A priest might not seem so accessible. Also, he would probably have to toe closer to 'company policy.'"

**B**ROTHER Timothy was graduated from high school in June 1959 and two months later began his three-year postulency—or basic training—in Washington, D.C. A one-year novitiate stage followed in Oldenburg, Ind., where he studied Christianity, church law and the customs and history of the Franciscan Order.

At the end of this period, he took the solemn vows of poverty, chastity and obedience that formally initiate a man into the life of a Franciscan friar. "I never had ambitions to go on to the priesthood," he says. "I guess I felt that I could be closer to people as a simple friar. Besides that, a priest is too much establishment for me."

Brother Timothy proved an establishment-breaker at an early age by shunning his family's Protestant tradition. Until 13, he attended Baptist church regularly with his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Richardson. Then he "jumped ship" for Catholicism, never looking back. He had been influenced in his decision by Catholic friends who had introduced him to an appealing spiritual and social life at the Annunciation Church in Pittsburgh. He recalls that his widowed mother, now a social worker for the City of Pittsburgh, told him at the time: "As far as religion is concerned, you are on your own."

Brother Timothy says he was an average student at school who managed to "have a ball" at dances and parties. "I attended morning mass and had the church on my mind, but I was no Holy Roller," he says.

In 1969, he requested a transfer from the Franciscan Monastery in Washington to the Holy Land. He got his wish. First he worked as a supervisor and teacher in a Jerusalem orphanage for a year and a half. Then he was transferred to the St. Francis School in Acre, an Arab community on the Northern Israeli seacoast, to teach English. Asking specifically for service in the holy places, he was attached to the Franciscan friary in Bethlehem last July.

One of his biggest thrills was being intimately connected with the Christmas celebration. "It was both special and a lot of work," Brother Timothy recalls, describing preparations that begin nine days before the actual celebration.

One of his tasks was to prepare the effigy—or doll—of the Christ child. Following the traditional Midnight Mass, the Patriarch of Jerusalem carries the doll down to the Na-

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Wine garden of the monastery is a favorite place for Brother Timothy to relax before evening duties. He expects to work in the Holy Land at least ten years.

## FRIAR TIMOTHY *Continued*

tivity Grotto and places it on a manger of straw.  
Timothy says he recently found and bought a black effigy of Jesus in a local Arab store. "The shopkeeper swore to me it was the only one in all the Holy Land," he says, and adds with a smile, "maybe I will slip it in next Christmas."

**T**ALKING to young Friar Timothy Richardson is a refreshing experience. His humor cracks the ice of what tends to be a somber world. Often in conversation he will chuckle and say: "Oh, oh, maybe that remark will get me into trouble."

It is obvious that he enjoys the closeness to the most revered of Christianity's shrines. And equally obvious is his enjoyment of mixing with the flow of tourists who visit the sanctuaries.

"I guess most of all I enjoy just being here," he confides. "You read about the holy places in the Scriptures and only dream about seeing them. Then, one day, you are here, a part of them."

How long will he stay?

"I would like to continue my work in the Holy Land for 10 or 12 more years and eventually return to the United States. But who knows, I may be here the rest of my life."

What does he miss from America?

"Well," he says, cracking a smile, "this spaghetti business is getting to me. I really miss a good T-bone steak."





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# 1,000-ACRE TYCOON

Former Georgia sharecropper finds fortune in cattle ranching



Beginning with a lot of plans, and a \$1,000 nest egg in 1937, John Hunter (l.) moved his family from 200 acres of sharecropper land to 50 acres of his own. Today, he owns more than 1,000 acres of some of the best farm land in Georgia, some 300 mother cows and grosses nearly half a million dollars annually raising steers for market. On opposite page he is flanked by his son, Bishop (r.) and nephew Herbert, who help him operate farm. They stand before giant silos in which they store 300 acres of cattle feed grown on property.

ON a clear day, John W. Hunter can look east into the open spaces of his Jakin, Ga., farm land and the smile that warm, self-satisfied smile of personal accomplishment. And after 35 years, he deserves it. For as far as the eye can see, it's all Hunter Country—past lush green meadows populated with Hereford and Black Angus cattle, over rolling acres of corn, milo and oats, a man-made lake, a forest stream—more than a thousand acres of tranquil peace of mind.

The well-shaven, strong, square set jaw that supports steel-rimmed eye-glasses and the quiet Southern composure do not betray his struggles, or his trials. Neither do they alter the facts. Thirty-five years ago, he was working 200 acres of another man's land. He was a member of the Emancipation Proclamation legacy who worked from sun up to sun down with little hope of change. There was no equity in his labor and little future. Life began, and often ended, in wooden





**Gesturing toward** a stray cow, Hunter (above) oversees his cattle as Herbert heads them out of feed lot to pasture. Later Herbert fills tractor before seeding corn (right) that will later be used to feed cows. Below right, Herbert and Bishop operate giant Harvester that transports stored feed to cows. Hunter entered cattle business because crop farming required farm labor which during the '30s was scarce as rural people migrated to larger, modern cities.





## 1,000-ACRE TYCOON *Continued*

shanties with poor, if any, plumbing facilities. His yearly earnings were divided between himself and his landlord. What was left was sometimes called a profit—often times called a pittance. But Hunter was unlike most of the sharecroppers of his generation. He owned about 40 head of cattle, one sow, several piglets and a lot of heady dreams. But Hunter knew the value of saving and—more important—how to save. Today, he has more than 1000 acres of the best farm land in Georgia, more than one half million dollars worth of the most modern farm equipment, some 500 prize mother cows, 200 choice hogs and a lot of envious neighbors. What's more, he's put seven of his nine children through college and built a comfortable five-room home with all the modern conveniences—color television, freezer, washer and dryer, the works. His former landlord is dead now, but his sons operate his neager 200-acre farm.

**J**OHAN HUNTER used no magic formula to achieve his wealth, no inherited fortunes or lucky gambling streaks. In 1937, he took \$1,000 of his savings and his family out of the sharecropping business, bought himself 50 acres of land and began the long, hard struggle of rising at dawn and working to dusk, through wind and rain and heat and misfortune, for himself. Sometimes the market was good and his cattle brought a good price. Sometimes there were problems and he had few, if any, to sell. But no matter what the weather or the market, he worked and saved and sweated and bought 100 acres here, 25 there, 10 here and expanded his operation. There were setbacks to be sure. His first child was born deaf; a friend tricked him into entering the burial vault business and left him owing a bankrupt business. But the only major obstacles, says Hunter, that slowed his progress, were the decisions to put his children through school and build the kind of house his wife had always dreamed about. Setbacks, in a way, but really a different kind of success. Today, his oldest son, John W. Hunter Jr., is a major in the U. S. Army. Another son works in a dairy lab and several of his other children have achieved their own form of distinction. His youngest son is now majoring in business at Johnson C. Smith University in North Carolina.

At 62, John Hunter is quite justifiably proud of himself. One of his sons, Bishop Hunter, helps run the farm, now worth more than half a million dollars, with his cousin Herbert and the two businesses (the burial vault firm now grosses more than \$35,000 "in a bad year") now gross nearly \$200,000 a year.

In a part of the country where race prejudice and intolerance have seemed to dominate, one would think that Hunter's success is much more a triumph over racism than life itself, but not to Hunter. "White folks in this part of the country have always been my friends," says Hunter. "I've never had any trouble with any white man in my life. Anyone who's willing to stand up and be decent, they'll help 'em. I wouldn't lie for nothin' in the world."



**Two-way radio system** (left) enables farmer to keep in close contact with his son and nephew anywhere on the farm. As a sharecropper, Hunter had only eight mother cows, no barns and little modern machinery. Today he has about 500 mother cows, four barns and five farm tractors.



**At Hunter's Burial Vault Company**, Bishop and Wysmon Grimsley, manager, lower vault top on last recent vault of the day. Hunter says he was tricked into buying company, now operates it as profitable side line.

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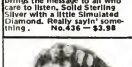
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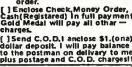
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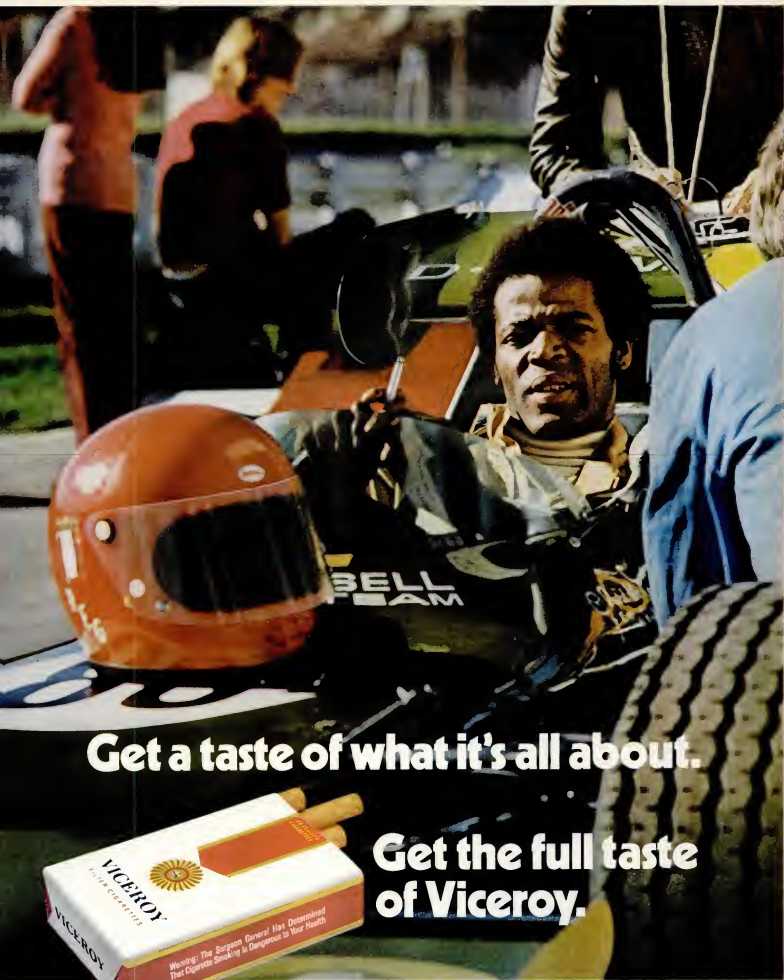
In air conditioned office, located in a building a few yards from his home, Hunter checks his mail while his granddaughter Katrina looks over his shoulder. Hunter views mechanization as key to greater future profits.

## 1,000-ACRE TYCOON *Continued*

IF MORE farmers were as prescient and provident as John Hunter, the soaring meat prices that are frustrating the country's economy would have long ago stabilized. Most cattle ranchers raise a steer to about 400 pounds, then sell it to a stocker feeder who raises it another 200 pounds and in turn sells it to another feeder to finish out the cattle at a weight of 1,000 to 1,110 pounds. A recent study was made of one lot of U.S. choice beef received in a Chicago supermarket that traced the meat back to the ranch where the calves were born. The study revealed that the cattle had changed hands 14 times between rancher, trucker, feeder, finisher, buyer, wholesaler, retailer, butcher and market. What's worse, each of the 14 men along the line were trying to eke out a profit on each transaction.

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Not every farmer is so fortunate. It costs upwards of \$250 to raise a steer from birth to butcher and few farmers, white or black, have



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Enjoying a quiet after-  
noon at home (left),  
Hunter and his wife,  
Mollie Lee, read to Ka-  
trina. Their spacious  
five-room home is fur-  
nished with elegant  
furniture and modern  
appliances. Below, they  
trim the family hedges.



## 1,000-ACRE TYCOON *Continued*

his harvestores or the more than \$250,000 it  
would take to finish out the 1,000 steers  
Hunter takes to market annually without them.

In 10 years Hunter expects his operation will  
gross more than a million dollars annually.  
And he expects the Southeast population ex-  
plosion as well as the new Disney World near  
Orlando, Fla., to figure prominently in his ex-  
pansion. "The growing population is going to  
attract industry to his area," says Hunter op-  
timistically, "and the tourist attracted by that  
park are going to take more meat to feed them.  
The handicap we have to overcome is  
financing. We have to prove the profitability  
of cattle to the lenders."

But Hunter, who says he has witnessed the  
trend of better government to improve the  
plight of the poor in Georgia ("The govern-  
ment has torn down many of them old wooden  
houses and replaced them with brick homes  
with financing about \$35 a month for families  
on welfare") has faith in the government to  
improve the farmer's position. As for himself,  
he's putting his vote squarely behind Sen. Hu-  
bert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.). "Goin' by his  
attitude while he was vice president," says  
Hunter, "I'd say he's the best man for farmers.  
Farmers been under the hump till Roosevelt,  
but we been comin' out ever since. But then I  
always did say that Democrats do more for  
farmers and I still do."



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**VERNON E. JORDAN:**

**BY LES PAYNE**

# IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF WHITNEY YOUNG

Vernon E. Jordan is at age 36 the youngest man ever to serve as executive director of the National Urban League. Below, the former head of the United Negro College Fund pauses in front of the "Building of Equal Opportunity," both NUL and UNCF headquarters in New York City.

**A**MIDST the tinkling of silverware and dinner glasses, the granite block of a man walks with ball-bearing grace to the podium at stage center. Vernon Eulion Jordan has five minutes to register his point with 1,600, mostly white, grassroot leaders of the Teamsters Union and their "100 distinguished guests." It is not a home crowd for the black executive director of the National Urban League.

A "great American" is being honored with an award from the Four Freedoms Foundation: Frank E. Fitzsimmons, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

The previous speakers were well-oiled, seductive, praising labor for its contribution to "a great nation." Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., son of the late President, has called the gathering the "most distinguished crowd ever joined together in New York City." And New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller has praised labor's role as "unforgettable" in "America's journey to greatness."

So the gallery had been played to. Spirits are high. The Teamsters' self-ingratiating equanimity is in the air, mingling with the cigar smoke in the warm air of the Grand Ballroom. All that is needed to round out the evening is for a black man, preferably one of stature, persuasion and, perhaps, gratitude, to massage the Teamsters about the shoulders, to heap his praise on the growing pile of adulation. Such a man it is hoped is now at the podium, having been introduced as the successor to "the late, great Whitney Young," a "young man with the same energy."

Although sensing that he is behind enemy lines, Jordan has decided to hold to his game plan, to fight *his* fight, his way.

The jab.

"The Northern liberals who stood shoulder-to-shoulder with us during the bright, golden days of the civil rights movement of the '60s seem now to have embarked on a course of compromise and to waving the white flag of surrender—surrender of the ideals of freedom for which we have fought and died," says Jordan in a vibrant baritone. The glass tinkling subsides somewhat for this is not an altogether "Northern liberal" audience. Dressed in black formal suit and bow tie, Jordan grips the rostrum and sketches, in staccato, the liberals' retreat from welfare reform and scattered site housing, and other progressive civil rights goals.



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## VERNON JORDAN *Continued*

"A tawdry spectacle," he calls the opposition to busing. "... the worst instincts of the selfish majority pandered to at the expense of the education of all our children." An indecent rustle runs through the white anti-busing crowd. Some of the outer fringes find this a proper moment to answer nature, to powder the nose. Warning to his stint, Jordan moves in, "busing, a common practice now used as but one of several mechanisms for dismantling illegal and unconstitutional segregated school systems, has come under attack from conservatives, liberals and racists alike ... opposition to busing is very often naked opposition to integrated schools." The grassroot labor people find little to applaud in Jordan's short speech. They are quiet, restless.

Having achieved "greatness" in Rockefeller's speech, America, by Jordan's measurements, becomes "a nation too little inclined to practice the morality and the ideal it professes."

The ceremony is being held at the New York Hilton Hotel, in its airplane hangar of a dining hall. The 100 "distinguished guests" include: United Steelworkers President I. W. Able, television's Ed McMahon, Labor Secretary James Hodgson, a retired general or two, a Supreme Court justice, an Israeli counselor, a mongsior, and the board chairmen of soft drink companies, banks, airlines, trucking firms, food chains and a tea company.

The meal ends. The whiskey-pouring escalates frantically. Fitzsimmons' acceptance speech is on deck. Jordan, the only black face on a triple-deck dais, retakes his seat between Able and Cabinet member George Schultz.

JORDAN'S appearance at the Teamsters dinner is typical of the man who at age 36 is the youngest person ever named as executive director of the National Urban League. Having assumed executive directorship of the League last January 1, he is not so much an irritant as a man inside reminding government and big business of what they have not yet done for black Americans in comparison with what they are doing for whites. As a \$55,000 a year executive for the civil rights group that is fast becoming itself a formidable corporation, Jordan moves in the high-finance streams of governmental and corporate America. And he is proving to be a fast fish indeed.

Jordan was recently named among 26 "warriors of today," by *Women's Wear Daily*. The men were selected for being "first in business, power and study attraction." In addition to Jordan, the list included Aristotle Onassis, Presidential adviser Henry Kissinger, Sen. Edward Kennedy, Harry Belafonte, author John Updike, millionaire publisher Otis Chandler and Chase Manhattan Bank Chairman David Rockefeller.

A tall strikingly handsome man with an electric presence, Jordan's success for the League depends as much on his ability to persuade big business and government as it does on his organization's ability to deliver. Thus he views his position as a dual role requiring him to be both an administrator and a salesman for the League. "The job requires me to be a public advocate for our views which are based on our experience in communities across the country. I also have the responsibility of administering this organization. If any thing goes wrong programmatically or any other way, I have to take the blame, which I am prepared to do."

And in fulfilling his dual role, Jordan has become a peripatetic executive who keeps his bags ready for traveling the thousands of miles each month that the job demands. During a recent, typical week, Jordan met with a White House official, representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation and Standard Oil, the assistant mayor of Atlanta, the Anti-Defamation League; gave a commencement address at Benedict College and visited Urban League offices in New Orleans, Columbia, S.C., Little Rock, Ark., Newark and New York City, and visited a church in Mobile. "It's a terrible life," Jordan said recently, half-joking. "In order to be an effective director, I have to be constantly in touch with local affiliates, because they are operating the programs that are meeting the people. They are confronting the black people daily with their problems, aspirations, their hopes, fears." And, waving his long arms over the expanse of his desk, he said, "I can't be en-



Combining business with pleasure is a way of life for Jordan. Above, cocktails and chit-chat precede a NUL Board of Directors meeting, including (l. to r.) Michael Burke, president and chairman of the board of the New York Yankees, Edgar M. Bronfman, president of Joseph E. Seagram & Sons and Jordan.



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# CANADIAN MIST

## VERNON JORDAN *Continued*

tirely conversant with them in this cage up here."

But it is selling the Urban League to big business, labor and the federal government that demands most of Jordan's time. Since becoming executive director, he has 1) supported busing during an appearance before the Senate Sub-committee on Education 2) attacked the administration's welfare reform bill before the Senate Finance Committee 3) mapped out a Black Agenda before an AFL-CIO labor audience 4) distributed weekly columns on problems facing the nation's blacks and 5) given numerous speeches before labor groups, on television and college campuses.



**James A. Linn**, president of the National Urban League and chairman of the executive committee of Time, Inc., and Jordan discuss campaign strategies before having NUL board of directors' dinner. The League's president, who is group's top man, has always been white.

Jordan's messages span a number of issues, but the core is rooted in the Urban League's goals of seeking to eliminate racism, both individual and institutional; and increasing the economic power and net worth of blacks and other minorities.

**ONE** OF Jordan's most memorable public appearances was as one of 12 black spokesmen on a 90-minute edition of *Black Journal*, last winter. The show asked the question "Is It Too Late?"—for black survival in the United States.

In a forced breakdown of the leaders in the two categories of Nationalists and Integrationists, Jordan fell into the latter group, opt-

ing for hope, busing and integration. Jordan said later that the show was "an exercise in futility." Sounding an increasingly voiced note of "black unity without uniformity," he said that labeling is not a proper way to align black leadership.

"I guess I would fall into the integrationist camp," he said "but ideology has to take a back seat when people are hungry. We at the Urban League are interested in meeting the daily needs of the people, putting clothes on their backs and bread on the table. Hours of argument about whether separation or integration is better do not fill those needs."

Jordan's League, a professional, non-profit, non-partisan community service organization, was founded in 1910 to deal with the pressing needs of black Americans. Today, the organization lists 100 local affiliates in cities across the country. The national organization is staffed by more than 2,000 persons, trained in the social sciences and related fields. There are more than 25,000 volunteers who give of their time and talents to the various affiliates in 37 states and the District of Columbia.

Jordan assumed the executive directorship of the organization after Whitney M. Young Jr. drowned March 11, 1971, while swimming near Lagos, Nigeria. A conservative dresser who favors Brooks Brothers suits, vests and expensive ties, Jordan has brought to the position the experience of a lawyer. Young was a professional social worker.

Young and Jordan were close friends when Jordan was professionally active as a lawyer in the civil rights movement for more than a decade. Jordan served for five years as regional director of the Southern Regional Councils' Voter Education Project, which encouraged black voter registration. Young once suggested that Jordan apply for a deputy director position with the National Urban League. Jordan was later refused the job with the hint that he was overqualified.

In an ironic letter, which Jordan now has framed on his office wall, Young, in informing Jordan that he had not been accepted as Young's assistant, wrote the following:

"I think we all consider you a more likely candidate for the Executive Director post rather than the deputy—but that isn't vacant yet!"

Young later talked Jordan into leaving the South and accepting the executive directorship of the United Negro College Fund in March 1970. Like the Urban League, the fund is located in the "Building for Equal Opportunity," at 55 East 52nd Street, in New York City.

"His encouragement had a lot to do with my coming to the College Fund," Jordan said. "Even after I got here, Whitney was extremely helpful in showing me the tricks of the trade. We were pretty tight."

After being named to the Urban League post, Jordan moved one floor up to the seventh, directly above his old office at the College Fund.

Upon joining the League, Jordan promised to "take the case of the black people to the

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## VERNON JORDAN *Continued*

Nixon administration." While suggesting that it may be too early to assess his leadership track record, Jordan believes that his organization's hammering away will harvest benefits. "There is no question but that we are getting heard," he said recently. "There are issues where we have absolutely no basis of agreement—busing and welfare reform are two important issues on which we have clearly disagreed with the Nixon administration. But by the same token, we have been able to disagree with them on basic issues and continue a creative partnership."

This "creative partnership," above board, is a relatively new marriage between the interests of the federal government and a civil rights agency. Although the League founded was started on the larger scale by Young and the Kennedy-Johnson administrations, the Nixon reign has not seen fit to cut back on the League's federal programs. And judging by the tabs that the federal government picks up, the marriage is mutually beneficial.

At the end of fiscal year 1971, the National

Urban League's annual income from all sources was \$15,083,808. Government grants totaled \$8.1 million, an increase of \$1.2 million from the previous year. Foundation grants made up 26 per cent of the budget and private corporations' contributions accounted for 13 per cent. One of the League's glamour programs is a \$4 million contract from the U.S. Department of Labor for the agency's Labor Education Advancement Program (LEAP). The program, operating in 42 cities across the country, seeks to increase the number of blacks in construction trades by preparing applicants for apprenticeship entry test.

A Labor Department official, in announcing the contract retroactive to Nov. 1, cited the League's "consistently high performance record." A League spokesman said that the agency has exceeded by 40 per cent its federal quotas for minority placement in the trades. Over a three-year period, League officials say, the program has coached, tutored and placed more than 3,000 young non-whites, between the ages of 18-24, into the building trades.



Jordan briefs key personnel on latest League developments during one of the weekly Monday staff meetings. He and his staff coordinate the League's 100 local affiliates and implement the League's 64 programs. The non-profit national organization, which was founded in 1910, is now staffed by more than 2,000 persons.



**T**HE League has some 64 programs which range from planned parenthood, to day care, to voter registration and veterans affairs. They include:

- **STREET ACADEMIES.** Started nine years ago, the academies are located in Harlem, Detroit, Hartford, Cleveland, Minneapolis and Pittsburgh. Financed by foundation grants, industrial concerns and private citizens, the academies seek to motivate drop-out students to return to formal education. League officials view the program as a permanent alternative to existing educational facilities for urban youths. The League says that during the last few years, more than 1,000 street academies students returned to formal education, with more than 300 attending colleges across the country. Four new academies are planned this fall for Flint, Mich., Phoenix, Ariz., New Orleans and South Bend, Ind.

- **ON-THE-JOB TRAINING.** This program was started in 1968 and League officials call it one of the most successful. Last year the program placed 7,254 persons in training positions, a total of 43 per cent higher than in 1970. Officials say that the program has placed \$76 million in the pockets of 22,500 black workers since its inception. Operating in 36 cities, the program increases the life-time income of the average trainee by some \$70,000.

- **HOUSING.** The League Development Foundation, working through local affiliates, made possible the construction of 4,000 new units and renovation of over 1,000 others. The foundations provide aid to local grassroots housing programs such as HOUSE Inc. This non-profit corporation was established by the Urban League to buy and renovate houses and resell them to local residents. Nine such transactions have been completed and 40 more are planned.

- **PROJECT STAR** (Serving to Advance Rehabilitation). Funded in 1970 by a three-year grant from the Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, the program is directed at improving the quality of life of the mentally retarded in minorities' low-income families. Operating in San Diego, Calif., Hartford, Conn., Tampa, Fla., South Bend, Ind., and Portland, Ore., the Star program seeks to contact and steer families of mentally retarded children toward available service. Over 500 families have been reached and serviced. The project is also sponsored by the National Assn. of Retarded Children and the Family Service Assn. of America.

In analyzing his organization's 64 programs, Jordan views the Urban League as the civil rights group that has developed the economic power to deal with problems facing American blacks. "We are essential to the whole spectrum of black problems," he said. "Our expertise is, in part, our ability to carry on a broad, general attack on all of the problems. This does not mean that there are no priorities."

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Wherever he travels, Jordan is sought-after by newsmen. Above, the young executive director answers general questions of a radio news reporter after addressing the American Bankers Assn. convention in Chicago.

## VERNON JORDAN *Continued*

JORDAN, born on August 15, 1935, came from middle class beginnings in Atlanta. His mother ran a prosperous catering service and his father was a career government employe, working with the mail service at Ft. MacPherson Army Base. Young Jordan grew up through the programs of the Butler Street YMCA. "That's where I learned to swim; that's where I learned to fight; that's where I learned to get along with folks." In high school, he won oratorical contests, played basketball and though he was taller than most kids his age opted for the band over football. "There was a question of what I was going to do about the investment my mama had made in the trumpet."

In 1953, he entered DePauw University, the only black in his class. Of a student body of about 2,200, there were five black students on campus. He ran full throttle into discrimination Indiana college style; he couldn't get his hair cut. What is more, the barber was a black man cutting white students' hair from the campus. "I never could adjust to a black barber, while cutting a white student's hair, telling me that he couldn't cut my hair because I was black. He said that it would hurt his white business."

The barber had to be tricked, finally, into giving Jordan an emergency haircut, boot-legged on a Sunday. Having been invited out to dinner with his white roommate's family, collegiate Jordan plotted his great haircut caper. "Those were not the days of the long hair and the Afro, those were the stocking cap days." So Jordan called the barber and told him "my daddy was the biggest lawyer in the South and if he didn't cut my hair so I could go to this dinner, daddy was going to sue him." The barber met him at the shop on that Sunday morning, pulled down the blinds and finally cut Jordan's hair after first telling him that he didn't know how to cut "our kind of

Continued on Next Page

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With his family at home, Jordan finds there is still work to be done. At right, he and his wife Shirley help their 12-year-old daughter Vickie set the table for a dinner party with friends.



## VERNON JORDAN *Continued*

hair." Jordan later bought clippers, cut students' hair and "made enough money to go into Indianapolis to get a first-rate hair-cut."

At college, Jordan played freshman basketball, won oratorical contests, graduating with a B.A. degree in political science. He went on to law school at Howard University where there were plenty of "good-looking black women, as contrasted to my DePauw experience. I looked forward to walking around the campus holding a girl's hand. . . . My first impression of Howard was that it was the only federally supported winter resort in the country." He later found it also to be a good law school.

At Howard, Jordan met and married his wife

Shirley. The couple now live in a \$51,000, 12-room ranch house in Greenberg, N. Y., with their 12-year-old daughter, Vickie, and their housekeeper, Mrs. Mary Gaines, who came up with the family from Atlanta. Mrs. Jordan, an extremely attractive woman, was stricken with multiple sclerosis eight years ago.

Before taking his family to New York in March 1970, Jordan had begun to emerge as a political force in Atlanta. Long active throughout the South in the civil rights movement, his name was being mentioned in local Atlanta politics, including the mayor's post, as well as state-level legislative positions. "I had politics very much on my mind before this job," he said. His mind now is focused on the

League which he sees as being at the "crossroad in the civil rights movement in America." He seeks to "build new roads" that will take black people beyond the 1960s' "civil rights acts and voting rights laws and fair housing legislation." In calling for the "political browning of America," Jordan pledged to take the League in the virgin fields of voter registration in the North to enhance black political power; anti-drug abuse campaigning; and the funneling of large corporations' resources and skills into black communities.

The major question facing Jordan is whether the Urban League, with strong financial ties to the federal government, can continue to flourish while bridging the gap between the Nixon administration and blacks disenchanted with an Executive insensitive to their needs. And in the coming months and years, Jordan's and the Urban League's commitment to total integration will doubtless be tested by the growing mood of nationalism pulsating in black communities across the country. The League's staff is solidly integrated. Its president, the group's top executive, has always been a white man. The organization's national staff is about 60 per cent black. Jordan views the League's staff as "the integrated team at work." And he sees the '70s as the season for the League to bloom.

The six-foot, four-inch, 235-pound lawyer from Atlanta is relentless in his drive to fulfill the League's goal of setting institutional racism on its ear. "Yes, this land is our land," he said recently, "America will work for black people, or it will not work for anyone!"

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# The Making of Black America

# THE BLACK WORKER

By Lerone Bennett Jr.

*Labor has built this great metropolis of the new world, built it as coral insects build the foundations of islands—build and die; build from the fathomless depth of the ocean until the mountain billows are dashed into spray as they beat against the fortifications beneath which the builders are forever entombed and forgotten.*

—Eugene V. Debs

**T**O UNDERSTAND BLACK is to understand work—and the denial of work.

It was work or, to be more precise, it was the white demand for cheap and exploitable labor that brought black people to these shores. And it was in and through the work relationship that the fundamental structures of the black community were formed.

No less important in this general connection was the impact of black workers on American society. It was the work of black workers, it was the unpaid and underpaid work of black men, women and children which changed the flora and fauna of large sections of the New World and created that initial pool of capital which made possible the economic growth from which they were excluded by fraud and violence.

To understand the black experience is to understand that point. It is also to understand that leap of the spirit which enabled embattled black workers to endure slavery, peonage and para-colonialism.

*Take this hammer and carry it to the captain,  
Tell him I'm gone,  
Tell him I'm gone,  
Tell him I'm gone.*

*This is the hammer that killed John Henry,  
But it won't kill me,  
But it won't kill me,  
But it won't kill me.*

This image, at once aural and visual, reverberates through all the reaches of the black experience and underlines the fact that the history of black people is, among other things,

## Labor was central factor in the development of Black America

a history of work.

To assess the meaning of that history, and to situate it in the dynamics of the declining phases of capitalism, it is necessary to trace the arc of black labor from legal slavery to economic slavery to para-colonialism. More than that: it is necessary to follow that arc with the guidance of three or four conceptual formulations which release the reality which isolated statistics sometimes conceal.

First of all and most importantly of all, it is necessary to understand that white Americans have deliberately and systematically used black workers for white economic purposes. In the slave epoch, for example, black workers were forced to play the role of pump primers in the development of the necessary capital which assured the growth of America. When, after the Civil War, legal slavery gave way to economic slavery, black workers were assigned the role of an industrial labor reserve which could be called into play in times of emergency and acute national need.

In considering the role of the black worker, one must keep this point in mind. One must also remember that the relationship of black workers to the American economic structure is a mass relationship. In other words, black workers are oppressed as a group. This means, on one level, that the role of black workers is a result not of chance or individual characteristics but of white national decisions on the use of black workers. It means, at a still deeper level, that black workers as a group have been confined to marginal economic roles by fraud, violence and a system of in-

stitutionalized racism. As we indicated in the last installment, the primary mechanisms of this system are dual labor markets: a white primary market of relatively well paid jobs and a black secondary market of hot, dirty, low-paying jobs.

A third item in this equation is the fact that white Americans have deliberately manipulated the educational system in order to assure a dependable supply of uneducated laborers.

A fourth and final point is that black workers have been forced to fight a rearguard action against a pincer movement of both white capital and white labor. Since the seventeenth century, white capital has repeatedly used black labor to depress wages and to divide and mystify the labor force. For almost as long a period, white labor has used every weapon at its command to restrict black labor to menial tasks.

The implications of these points are clear and extensive, as Dan Lacy pointed out in a recent book on *The White Use of Blacks in America*. "Most studies of white actions and attitudes towards blacks in America," he wrote, "have treated them as the product of irrational racist emotion and as problems in social psychopathology. Though there has been a marked paranoid component in white racial attitudes, white actions with regard to blacks have not in fact been an aggregation of irrationalities. In their totality they have constituted a deliberate and carefully interlinked set of policies intended to assure the presence and the exploitability of a large semiskilled labor force, primarily in agriculture, whose labor could be commanded at subsistence wages. Changes in the economy that increased or diminished the need for such a labor force have been the principal determinants of racial policy. Indeed, the paranoid elements in America, and especially in Southern, racial attitudes have been in no small part deliberately cultivated as a means of sustaining racial policies having primarily economic objectives."

As this quote indicates, and as the work of W. E. DuBois, Eric Williams and others docu-



# Black workers confined to marginal economic role by fraud, violence

Forced labor of black men, women and children was foundation of economic structure of South. Slavery was a means of organizing and controlling black labor.

## THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

ments, the work relationship is central to an understanding of black and white America. In fact, the founding of this country was inextricably intertwined with the capturing, transporting and colonization of African workers. In the beginning, as we have seen, desperate attempts were made to colonize Indian and European workers. But it soon became clear that the mastering of the vast stretches of the New World required more laborers than Indian America and Europe could supply. And this perception, dim at first but growing ever-clearer, led to a national white decision to base the economy on the use of workers forcibly transported from Africa. The key word here is national. Slavery and the slave trade were the foundation stones of the entire American economy. As W. E. B. DuBois records in his standard work, *Black Reconstruction*, the black workers of America "became the cause of new political demands and alignments, of new dreams of power and visions of empire."

"First of all," DuBois added, "their work called for widening stretches of new, rich black soil—in Florida, in Louisiana, in Mexico; even in Kansas. This land, added to cheap labor, and labor easily regulated and distributed, made profits so high that a whole system of culture arose in the South, with a new leisure and social philosophy. Black labor became the foundation stone not only of the Southern social structure, but of Northern manufacture and commerce, of the English factory system, of European commerce, of buying and selling on a world-wide scale; new cities were built on the results of black labor, and a new labor problem, involving all white labor, arose both in Europe and Amer-



ica. Blacks played an indispensable role in this process.

Bent, as DuBois said, "at the bottom of a growing pyramid of commerce and industry," the black workers of America were a vital source of primary capital accumulation. It is established by a great deal of evidence that the capital which financed the explosive growth of America in the nineteenth century came from foreign exchanges earned from the export of slave-grown cotton. Douglass North, for example, has pointed out that "it was the growth of the cotton textile industry and the demand for cotton which was decisive" in the crucial years of primary capital accumulation in America. It was cotton, he said, which paid for American imports "and the demand for western foodstuffs and northeastern services and manufactures was basically dependent upon the income received from the cotton trade." In the final analysis therefore, it was the power of black bodies which financed the building of American railroads and factories and the settlement of the West.

No less significant in the building of the

country were slave laborers who worked on docks and in factories and who were largely responsible for the construction of Southern railroads. Nor can we forget the invaluable contributions of black artisans who were the master craftsmen of the South. There were carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and millwrights on every plantation. Black artisans were also numerous in the larger cities. "Whatever the shortcomings the weight of evidence shows," M. W. Jernegan said, "that there was a great increase in numbers [of slave artisans]; that they were more valuable than untrained slaves, and much sought after; that they competed with free white labor especially in the towns; and they were the most important agency in the commercial development of the South."

By almost all accounts, these artisans were uncommonly talented. Some of their work, notably the iron grills of New Orleans, evokes praise, even today.

Analyzing this situation some years later, an engineer who learned his trade from a slave artisan wrote: "One only needs to go down South and examine hundreds of old Southern mansions, and splendid old church edifices, still intact, to be convinced of the fact of the cleverness of the Negro artisan, who constructed nine-tenths of them. . . ." He added: "There are few, if any, of the carpenters of today who, if they had the hand tools, could get out the 'stuff' and make one of those old style massive panel doors—who could work out by hand the moldings, the stiles, the mullions, etc., and build one of those windows, which are to be found today in many of the churches and public buildings of the South. . . . For the carpenter in those days was also the 'cabinet maker,' the wood turner, coffin maker, generally the pattern maker, and the maker of most things made of wood. The Negro black-



**Black artisans** operated cotton gin and other machinery on plantations. It has been estimated that blacks contributed annually some \$30 million to wealth of South.



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# Black labor was foundation stone of modern economic development

## THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

smith held almost complete sway in his line, which included the many branches of forgery, and other trades which are now classified under different heads from that of the regular blacksmith. The blacksmith in the days of slavery was expected to make any and everything wrought of iron. He was to all intents and purposes the 'machine blacksmith,' 'horse-shoer,' 'carriage and wagon ironer and trimmer,' 'gunsmith, wheelwright; and often whit-tled out and ironed the hames, the plowstocks, and the 'single trees' for the farmers, and did a hundred other things too numerous to mention. They were experts at tempering edge tools, by what is generally known as the water process. But many of them had secret processes of their own for tempering tools which they guarded with zealous care."

Four obvious but important points should be made about this general situation. First, the contributions of black workers have never been adequately acknowledged. Second, slave workers were not paid and the fruits of their labor were appropriated and used to enrich others. Third, black workers were denied the right to use their energies and skills for the advancement of the black community. Fourth, slaveholders and the managers of the social structure ruthlessly used slave labor to impoverish all workers.

This last point is of crucial importance, for it played a role in sowing the seeds of disunity in the working class. White workers, who could not compete with rich slavemasters, were pushed to the margins of society where they lived at a subsistence level and nursed their passionate fear and hatred of black workers. Instead of attacking the rich slavemasters, the poor whites focused their resentment on the slaves of the slavemasters. And from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century repeated attempts were made to limit the work experiences of slaves and free black workers. Fail-

ing in their attempts to displace slave workers, white workers physically attacked free black workers and attempted to drive them from coveted trades.

These tactics were generally successful in the North where white capital and white labor confined most free black workers to domestic and personal service. In 1855, for example, 87 per cent of the employed black workers in New York City held menial or unskilled jobs. In New York and other major Northern cities, most black men were laborers, waiters, servants, porters, bootblacks and hod carriers. A considerable number of black male workers were also employed on the docks and aboard ships. It has been estimated that one-half of all American seamen in 1850 were black.

In the North, as in the South, black women were workers. Most black women workers in the North were maids and laundresses. Because of the pervasive discrimination against black men, many black women were also the main supporters of families. "In this extremity," Lorenzo J. Greene and Carter G. Woodson wrote, "the Negro washerwoman rose to prominence. She became in many instances the sole breadwinner of the family. She washed and ironed while her all but idle husband brought in and carried the clothes back to the homes." Greene and Woodson added: "A census taken in Philadelphia in 1849 showed that the females outnumbered the males in gainful occupations. The returns gave 3,358 males and 4,249 females. The importance of the Negro washerwoman as a provider is further demonstrated by the fact that out of these 4,249 women so occupied, 1,970, or almost 50 per cent, were engaged in washing and ironing or day work. Without a doubt many a Negro family in the free States would have been reduced to utter destitution had it not been for the labor of the mother as a washerwoman."

To make matters worse, the tenuous position of the black worker in the North was constantly challenged by white immigrants. Between 1830 and 1860, some five million white immigrants came to America. Most of these immigrants settled in the cities where they fought blacks for living space and jobs. Since the immigrants were white, there could be little doubt about the outcome of this struggle. Year by year, decade by decade, black workers were forced out of occupation after occupation. The traditional image of wave after wave of white immigrants rolling to relative security over the bruised and battered backs of blacks is rooted in fact and history. Writing in *The Colored American* in 1838, a black man said: "These impoverished and destitute beings—transported

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# Slavemasters used slave labor to impoverish black and white workers



Internal colonialism produces and reproduces a class of unskilled, underpaid workers. European immigrants seriously undermined the economic position of blacks.

## THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

from the trans-Atlantic shores are crowding themselves into every place of business and of labor, and driving the poor colored American citizen out. Along the wharves, where the colored man once [commanded] the whole business of shipping and unshipping—in stores where his services were once rendered, and in families where the chief places were filled by him, in all these situations there are substituted foreigners or white Americans."

The black response to this economic crisis was varied. Some black leaders advocated emigration; others called for violent and nonviolent protest; still others championed concerted action in the political and economic arenas.

Beginning in the 1830s, with the first black conventions, and continuing until the Civil War, black leaders repeatedly called for the organization of Tuskegee-type trade schools. Attempts were also made to organize black trade unions. Perhaps the first black trade union was the short-lived American League of Colored Laborers which was organized in New York in July 1850.

As the crisis deepened, and as the white assault on the black worker continued, Frederick Douglass sounded a general alarm in the March 4, 1853, edition of Frederick Douglass' Paper. "LEARN TRADES OR STARVE!" the headline said. The editorial supported this stern alternative with the following argument. "The old avocations, by which colored men obtained a livelihood, are rapidly, unceasingly and inevitably passing into other hands; every hour sees the black man elbowed out of employment by some newly arrived emigrant, whose hunger and whose color are thought to give him a better title to the place. . . ." Douglass added:

"White men are becoming house-servants, cooks and stewards on vessels—at hotels.—They are becoming porters, stevedores, wood-saw-

*Continued on Next Page*



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Black women played major role as workers in slave and "free" states



Black workers gained toehold in mining industry in late nineteenth century. Plantation slaves and quasi-free blacks were crucial source of capital accumulation.

## THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

yers, hod-carriers, brick-makers, white-washers and barbers, so that the blacks can scarcely find the means of subsistence—a few years ago, and a white barber would have been a curiosity—now their poles stand on every street. Formerly blacks were almost the exclusive coachmen in wealthy families: this is so no longer; white men are now employed, and for aught we see, they fill their servile station with an obsequiousness as profound as that of the blacks. The readiness and ease with which they adapt themselves to these conditions ought not to be lost sight of by the colored people. The meaning is very important, and we should learn it. We are taught our insecurity by it. Without the means of living, life is a curse, and leaves us at the mercy of the oppressor to become his debased slaves. Now, colored men, what do you mean to do, for you must do something? The American Colonization Society tells you to go to Liberia. Mr. Bibbs tells you to go to Canada. Others tell you to go to school. We tell you to go to work; and to work you must go or die.\*

Douglass' editorial contained a great deal of illuminating information on the nature of the crisis, but his conclusion was something less than helpful. For the crisis, as his editorial so eloquently pointed out, was bound up with the fact that white Americans refused to give black Americans work precisely because they were black.

It is to be observed in this connection too that by the 1850s, the familiar patterns of institutionalized racism were well established in the North. By that time, white laborers were combining to displace blacks and white employers were elaborating various techniques for barring blacks from factories and offices. It is interesting to note that black workers also received hostile receptions in the offices, shops,

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## Wave after wave of white immigrants eroded the economic position of blacks

### THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

and factories of the white abolitionists. An additional and equally interesting fact is that few white abolitionists addressed themselves to the economic problems of black workers.

IN THIS LIGHT, we can better understand the failure of the public policies of the Reconstruction period. The central failure of this period, as so many commentators have observed, was the failure to free black workers and to provide an economic infrastructure for the paper freedom of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments. Some public leaders, notably Frederick Douglass, Thaddeus Stevens and Charles Sumner, perceived this and made a desperate attempt to legislate economic equality. But they were defeated by the greed, cynicism, and indifference of white Northerners who had no intention of endangering the exploitability of such a vast labor reserve. A second point to bear in mind is that the black masses waged a somewhat unfocused but nevertheless significant struggle for economic freedom. When the federal government refused to grant forty acres and a mule, the freedmen appealed to the Reconstruction governments in the South. In some cases, as I have indicated elsewhere (*Black Power U.S.A.*), the leaders of those governments passed tenancy legislation which protected tenants from arbitrary seizures. Bills were also passed to enable poor persons to obtain credit, and state agencies were created to look out for the interests of the poor. On the local level, Republican justices of the peace (many of whom were black) and predominantly black juries frequently ruled in favor of renters and sharecroppers in the constantly recurring disputes over wages, liens, and land. These measures, though well meaning, were inadequate; and white Southern leaders launched a campaign to reestablish political and economic control over the black workers of the South.

In this contest, which raged for a whole generation, white Southern leaders were motivated primarily by economic objectives. From the beginning of the Reconstruction period, white Southern leaders had manifested extreme anxiety over the stability of their labor supply. As Carl Schurz noted in a postwar tour of the South, white people still believed that the black worker existed "for the special object of raising cotton, rice, and sugar for the whites, and that it [was] illegitimate for him to indulge, like other people, in the pursuit of his own happiness in his own way." Schurz added: "But although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society."

Despite fraud and violence, black workers used political power in the Reconstruction period to make gains on several fronts. Commenting on this fact, the Florida African

Continued on Page 122



# How to tell your son the facts of drinking.



He's almost old enough now. And as a parent, you know he's going to be tempted. If you seem anxious or overly concerned when you talk to him, he might think you're trying to keep him from something he should know about.

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## 'Emancipation' failed to free black worker and to provide an economic foundation



Club-wielding workers guard trucks during bloody 1905 strike of Chicago teamsters. White union hostility forced some black workers to adopt role of strikebreakers.

### THE BLACK WORKER *Continued*

Methodist Episcopal Conference said:

*Whereas labor is the basis of all wealth, and wealth is an absolute necessity of civilized society . . .*

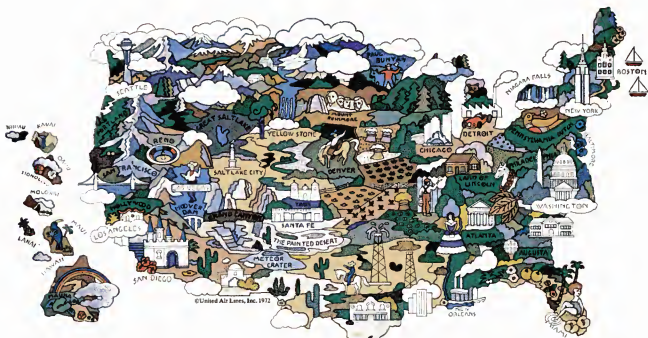
*Resolved by the convention of ministers and laymen of the Methodist Episcopal Church of Florida, that we congratulate our people upon the rapid progress they have made in the past six years, and upon the increase of mixed industry, homesteads, and small farms in opposition to the ruinous plantation system, and [we consider] those together with the increase in school houses and churches, and also the deposit of nearly three million dollars in the savings-banks, as a greater pledge of our progress to the friends of freedom throughout the world than can be found in the house of any people who sprang from as lowly a condition as ourselves. . . .*

When, towards the end of Reconstruction, white leaders unleashed the Klan and other terrorist organizations, they said frankly that their central concern was not race but property and labor. They claimed that the new state governments were being used to favor the interests of poor laborers at the expense of employees. Lewis E. Parsons, a former governor of Alabama, told a Congressional investigating committee, that the fundamental purpose of the terrorist campaign was to control the black man and his labor. It came to be understood, he said, "that in this way Negroes might be made to toe the mark again, to do the bidding of the employer, to come up to time a little more promptly, and do more work than they would otherwise do."

With this view in mind, and with the tacit support of Northern industrialists, the emerging class of bankers, railroad men, industrialists and planters overthrew the Reconstruction regimes and reestablished a new form of slavery.

To be Continued

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# CORDUROY— THE FABRIC OF YOUTH

fashion  
fair

WHERE did corduroy originate? Some say England, some say France. However, England is credited with originating the fabric and France is credited with the name, 'Corde du Roi' meaning Cloth of the King. The rugged wearing quality fabric itself was said to have more durable appeal than any association with king and kingdom. Corduroy gradually became an all-cotton fabric in the mid-18th century. The process was so costly to market that almost a century passed before the appearance of the first fully integrated mill for spinning, weaving, and finishing the fabric in America. It remained largely a utility fabric until the late 1940s, associated with laborers, hunters, and lumbermen.

Corduroy didn't really break away from its utility image until the late 1940s when American fashion designers gave it an entirely new fashion image. From that moment on, it began to expand in all directions on the fashion scene. Today, corduroy

*Whether you're at home alone or at a crowded afternoon party, lounging is much more relaxing in this pin wale corduroy trimmed with leather-like scalloping. Fabric by J. P. Stevens, New York.*





is the fabric of youth. It fits the needs of the times—elegant without pretentiousness, luxurious yet functional, rugged yet soft, versatile yet inexpensive, a fabric with universal appeal. In a year in which fashion focuses on fabrics with surface interest, corduroy will find more uses than ever before.

The big news is plaids with a tweedy look, corduroy ribbed or ribless with a heather look and plaids that deceive the eye with a look of knit or needlepoint. There are colors for everyone and every mood... bright, alive and clear for strong tartan matchmates... neutrals rich in the soft surface of corduroy—grey, winter-white and camel and the chinossiere shades of orange, teal and chrome yellow.

Corduroy has so many fine qualities for sewing. Above all, it is a washable pile fabric. There are novelty corduroys which produce a sculptured or textured effect. There are ribless corduroys that impart a suedelike fabric effect. In fact, corduroy has many faces. So enjoy yourself sewing in corduroy and make it a family affair.

*The long-look would dazzle any man's mind in these creations that feature a two-piece check suit or (r.) bibbed front with tattersall skirt. Looks best with a shirt, sweater. Fabrics by Cone Mills.*

SOCIODYNAMIQUE  
DE LA CULTURE



Showers of compliments are to be expected by wearers of these two outgoing ensembles. At right is a plaid bring pin wale battle jacket with roll up pants and the other a warm ribless corduroy toggle coat with plaid pants.

For your little girl and her little girl, Simplicity Patterns offers this birch block plaid smock in tattersall corduroy with button interest at the shoulder. Corduroy, a washable fabric is excellent for children's clothes. Fabric designed by J. P. Stevens, New York.



Smock it to them in this tiny floral print (above) on pin wale jacket. Accented at yoke, cuffs and trousers are bright yellow. Fabrics are all by Crompton-Richman.



Putting it all together (below) is this black and white plaid houndstooth wide leg pants outfit (r.) and a red thick and thin corduroy gilet with thick and thin wide leg pants with a quilted pin wale tie. Fabrics by Whittaker Retail.



Give yourself something special with this (above) quilted ribless corduroy kimono jacket and pants that are great for lounging or entertaining. Fabric by Valtex.



Going to your favorite art auction will be much more fun when the man in your life arrives in this navy and white print corduroy look to compliment your wide wale corduroy blazer with gray floor-length skirt. Fabrics designed by Crompton-Richman.

# TOWARD A BLACK DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

**I**N the archives of white America no document is more precious than the Declaration of Independence—and none more betrayed. Setting forth the nation's official creed, it proclaims the equality of all men—not in ability or courage—but in their common human possession of the fundamental rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. When these birthrights are abridged, the charter declares, men have the right—indeed the duty—to overthrow the offending government.

**T**HAT the Declaration was addressed only to whites is suggested by the nation's history. Frederick Douglass noted this 120 years ago when he scolded a Fourth of July gathering of the Rochester (N.Y.) Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society for not being true to the glowing rhetoric of the Declaration. He dismissed the Independence Day celebration as a sham, because black men were still in chains everywhere in America. They had no rights that white men respected. They were denied freedom of choice, social mobility and access to education. They were molested or murdered at will. Therefore, instead of being an occasion for black rejoicing, Independence Day only underscored the great chasm between blacks and whites. For the revolution it celebrated severed political ties between American colonists and their British oppressors, but ended with more than 700,000 blacks still in slavery.

**I**F blacks were partly emancipated in 1865 by uneasy white consciences, they nevertheless were locked into semi-servitude by a malaise of new white policies to enforce segregated education, housing and public accommodations, restrict employment and limit the vote. Programmed in the very nerve fibers of white America was the certainty—contrary to the "self-evident truths" of the Declaration of Independence—that blacks were an inferior breed of humanity to be rejected and feared. These racist attitudes glutted the blood streams of white churches, schools, labor unions, political parties, newspapers, governmental agencies, indeed all of white America's institutions.

If formal slavery no longer exists today, blacks nevertheless are trapped in an economy nine-tenths white people and nineteenth-twentieth white owned. If blacks no longer labor from sun-up to sundown on plantations, they nevertheless toil disproportionately in low skilled, low paying jobs. If blacks no longer are politically powerless, they nevertheless are overwhelmingly under-represented in political councils. In short, blacks are obliged to continue struggling to survive in a society which still demonstrates its evaluation of blacks as outcasts. Plagued with economic, social and political oppression, blacks also suffer an oppression of the mind, an erosion of those spiritual and moral values which bind them together into a community.

**C**LEARLY, then, the Declaration of Independence did not in 1776 and does not now speak to the oppressed condition of black people in America. At best, it is a credo for white oppressors, a credo generating within itself its own antithesis—a black Declaration of Independence. Their difference is roughly analogous to the difference between the white and black national anthems. One lauds America as "the land of the free, and the home of the brave." The other laments: "We have come over a way that with tears has been watered/ We have come, treading our path thro' the blood of the slaughtered."

It is precisely this difference in insight, this difference in perspective that begs the drafting of a black Declaration of Independence. While it would not call for the impossible—the political disengagement of 25 million blacks from white America—it would challenge the political legitimacy, that is, the ideological ground rules of America. It would speak forthrightly to the grim, ugly reality of black oppression.

The focus of such a Declaration on blackness would not mean that blacks alone suffer as victims in a racist society. As black theologian James H. Cone has suggested, blackness is at once 1) a psycho-physical reality and 2) a metaphysical symbol best describing the meaning of

oppression in America, because black people are the most numerous recipients of that oppression. Blackness, in the second sense enhances all victims of American oppression, the Indians, the Chicanos, the Puerto Ricans. Hence, a black Declaration of Independence would first challenge an American system which neither works for the masses of blacks," nor can be made to work without radical, fundamental change.

To cite Dr. Cone's example, black people live in a society in which some people believe blackness is synonymous with criminality while "law and order" is a code phrase clumsily disguising repressive efforts to maintain the *status quo*. Hence "law and order" really means blacks cannot be black and whites have the moral and political right to keep them in their "place." But a black Declaration of Independence would affirm the right of blacks to define their own place, to pursue their own life style, to build as a people regardless of consequences to white society. The new charter would affirm that which the oppressor regards as degrading, would flip-flop his scale of values in such a way that, in the area of esthetics, for example, black emerges as beautiful because the oppressor has defined it as ugly.

**P**ERHAPS the crux of a black Declaration of Independence would involve its perspective on human freedom. The traditional Declaration sprouted from John Locke's 18th century theories about a hypothetical "state of nature" in which all men were free and their "natural" rights and relationships were defined. But far from fishing for meanings in some imaginary realm, a black Declaration of Independence would be anchored in the here and now. Thus freedom would not be an intellectual construct. Rather, it would be defined as an existential reality, an active state of being arising from one's participation in a community of the oppressed. Freedom, in other words, becomes more than mere middle-class white individualism, more than decision-making on the basis of individual tastes. On the contrary, it would always involve decision-making within the context of a community of oppressed people who share similar goals and who seek the same liberation. From the perspective of a black Declaration of Independence, the truly free man casts his lot with the oppressed not because of pity or sympathy but because his own being is involved in his brother's degradation, his own existence limited by his brother's slavery.

Freedom, then, is nothing less than an affirmation of blackness. In the context of a black Declaration of Independence, to be free is to be "black," that is, to be identified with the victims of oppression in America and to struggle for their liberation. That black man is free who refuses to behave according to white America's expectations. That white man is free who sincerely strives to be "black" in the metaphysical sense, who rebels against his whiteness, rejecting it as the source of human misery. He does not, for example, accept the conditions responsible for Indian reservations, black ghettos and the rape of Vietnam. He rejects the American way of life as defined by its history. He knows that his life in this country and its ideology has been a lie, that the whole testament of libertarian ideas and promises he was told to live by and defend with his life has been a pious fraud.

To outline a new set of normative values, a black Declaration of Independence would assert the oppression of all "black" men and would proclaim their moral obligation to respond to that oppression in their self-interest. In other words, a black Declaration of Independence would call for "black" men to unite around their common suffering rather than trying as powerless individuals to take on the Goliath of American racism and militarism. Broadly speaking, this reversal of values points the way toward saving this nation and building the society envisioned in its official creed. It is the means through which America can truly overcome oppression and exploitation and create an entirely new and different social order. It can be—we believe—the salvation of all Americans.



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**Chili-N-Burgers:** Mix 1 lb. lean ground beef with  $\frac{1}{2}$  chopped green peppers, 1 small chopped onion, 1 tbs. chili powder seasoning, 1 tbs. chili sauce,  $\frac{1}{2}$  tsp. black pepper,  $\frac{1}{2}$  tsp. salt and  $\frac{1}{2}$  tsp. MSG and shape into patties. When coals are red, place patties on the cooking grill and cook about 4 min. Serve with French fries, milk.



## HAVE A PICNIC AT THE ZOO

WITH the warm weather upon us and the children out of school, most families are looking for unusual ways to while away their leisure. Fewer suggestions can be as educational and relaxing as a picnic at the zoo. Most large cities have zoos or zoological parks and the children will have a great time feeding the elephants, talking to the birds, making faces at the monkeys. After all the sightseeing, it's quite likely that native curiosity about animal life will have given way to ravenous hunger. The sandwich hints pictured here should give you lots of ideas to satisfy the beastliest of appetites.



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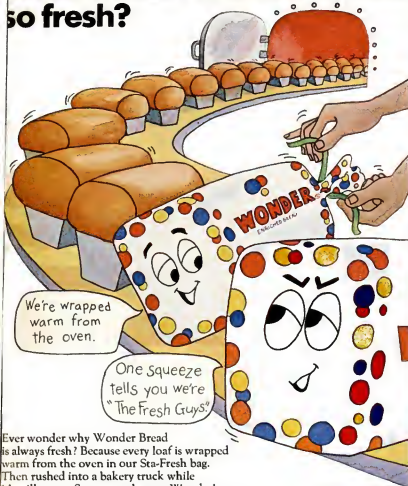


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**Pizza:** In the past few years, pizza has become one of the more popular favorites for family picnics. Since it is one of the more difficult dishes to prepare and is only tasty hot, it is suggested that you buy a frozen pizza and remove it from the freezer before departing. The pizza will be defrosted by arrival time and you have only to heat it in a covered barbecue unit. If it's still frozen, heat for about 15-25 min.



**Tunaburger:** Drain oil from contents from one family-sized can of tuna and mix well with 1/2 c. celery, 1/2 c. chopped onions, 2 tbs. sweet pickle relish, 2 tbs. mayonnaise. Place on bun, top with favorite cheese and place on covered grill. This warm nutritious meal becomes complete with corn chips and watermelon.



**Kabobs:** Marinate sirloin pieces cut into 1" cubes in a mixture of 1 c. soy sauce, 1/2 c. brown sugar, 1/2 c. vinegar, 1/2 c. pineapple juice, 2 tsp. salt, 1/2 tsp. garlic powder after mixture is brought to a low boil. Skew whole new potatoes about 2" in diameter, small onions, fresh mushrooms, cherry tomatoes and meat. For foods with a wide variety of cooking times, a separate skewer for each food is suggested although many foods can be cooked in combination. For extra flavor, brush mushrooms and potatoes with butter.

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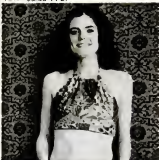
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**Barbecued Short Ribs:** Prepare your favorite barbecue sauce, seasoned to taste and marinate choice lean beef short ribs over night, allowing one pound meat per adult. When cooking, place on picnic grill and cook until meat leaves the bone or doesn't stick to cooking fork. Baste short ribs liberally with barbecue sauce at least twice while cooking.



**Ho-Man Special:** Slice a poor boy bun lengthwise and spread both halves with butter or margarine. On bottom half, begin with a layer of salami, then Mozzarella cheese, salami, baked ham, American cheese and finally top with tomatoes. Place shivered green pepper on top and place both portions of bun on aluminum foil and cook for five minutes on picnic grill. Serve when cheese is melted and tomatoes and pepper are partially cooked.





## **Kama mama, kama binti** (Like mother, like daughter)

Kama mama, kama binti is poetry in Swahili. And your little girl's natural is proud poetry in velvety rings and curls. Such beauty deserves the same loving care as your own crowning glory. Naturally, we mean Afro Sheen® concentrated shampoo and Afro Sheen® conditioner & hair dress. The best for both of you.

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## Whatever happened to...

# Charlayne Hunter?

Pushing through crowd of students and press photographers, Charlayne Hunter (right) in 1961 became first black female to enroll at University of Georgia. Below, a few days later, she was spirited from the campus "for her own safety." Police had to use tear gas to break up massive student demonstrations outside her dormitory.



Still pioneering as she did in the early '60s, Miss Hunter, who has fulfilled her ambition and became a journalist, has recently been named New York Times' first Harlem bureau chief.



**A**T THE age of 18, a harassed, worried looking black girl named Charlayne Hunter made national headlines by pushing her way through a hostile crowd of whites to register at the University of Georgia. She and a young man named Hamilton Holmes walked up to the university's registrar's office and became the first black students to enroll in that formerly all-white state institution.

In the 11 years which have elapsed since then, Miss Hunter has fulfilled her ambition and become a respected journalist. Now embarking on another pioneering effort, she has recently been named the New York Times' first Harlem bureau chief, a position she sardonically describes as "almost like a foreign bureau, only I call it a community outpost."

Miss Hunter, who at age 39 doesn't look much older than she did during her undergraduate years in the early '60s, says, "The bureau, which is mainly me and an answering service, is probably the only one of its kind in the country" in that it represents a commitment to the black community by a large white metropolitan daily.

Miss Hunter's determination to become a journalist led her to apply to the University of Georgia in 1961. "It wasn't so much going to a white school," she recalls, "as taking advantage of what my parents were helping to pay for. I wanted to study journalism and at the time, no black college in Georgia had a school of journalism. The University of Georgia was the only place to go." When asked if she would do it again, she replies rather hesitantly, "I really don't know. I think about it a lot and it may take me the rest of my life to determine whether it was worth it. Eventually, I got to see the whole situation as a news story."

Miss Hunter still vividly recalls the spitting, the name-calling and the brick-throwing she endured as an undergraduate. "I tried not to take all of that foolishness personally," she says. "Now, however, I sometimes feel that my attitude was wrong. I had to suppress too much. Everyone was talking about how cool and dignified I was, but perhaps if I had exploded more, I wouldn't have some of the anxieties and anger I have today. The attitude of black students on white campuses today is much healthier."

After graduation, Miss Hunter married and later divorced a white Georgia classmate, Walter Stovall. A daughter, Susan, now 8, was born to the couple. Miss Hunter now lives in New York City with Susan and her husband of 11 months, Ronald Gault, a black program officer for the Ford Foundation. They are expecting another child.





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